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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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WORLD POPULATION TRENDS*

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About 2½ billion human beings today inhabit the globe. More than half of them are in Asia, about one fourth are in Europe, and the remaining fourth are distributed approximately equally among North America, South America, and Africa. About two thirds of the earth's peoples live in four regions containing only one tenth of the land surface of the globe, namely, in the densely settled portions of southeastern Asia, in South Asia, in Europe, and in northeastern United States. The distribution and trend of the world's population are to be understood in terms of two major factors: (1) the relatively small portion of the surface of the globe which provides human sustenance, and (2) the history of population growth, which is an important and inseparable aspect of culture history.

With respect to the first of these factors it should be observed, in the interest of gaining a quick perspective, that of the earth's total surface of about 197 million square miles about three fourths is water and only one fourth is land. Of the land surface about one half is either too cold or too dry to be cultivated. Almost an additional fourth of the world's land surface is similarly not available for cultivation by reason of infertile soil, mountainous or rocky terrain, excessive rainfall, or the works of man, such as cities, industrial establishments, roads, etc. Slightly more than a fourth of the world's land surface (about 27 per cent), including pasture, produces food and fibers for human consumption. These approximately 3 billion acres of cultivated land and 6 billion acres of pasture provide an average of only about 2 acres of cultivated land for each person now alive. Most of the world's population is concentrated in or near the relatively small portion of the earth's surface which produces the world's major food supply, rice in Southeast Asia and India, and wheat in Europe and on the North American plains.

*Address presented by invitation to Association of American Geographers, at annual meeting, Cleveland, 1953.

The history of the world's population growth cannot be fully reconstructed. For the greater part of man's presence on the earth there are no records of the size and composition of populations. Even today, the exact number of people in the world is unknown; for there has never been a complete population census for most of Asia, including China, for most of Africa, or for parts of Latin America. Reasonably adequate data, however, are available for many parts of the globe and estimates of varying reliability for the remainder on both a historical and a contemporary basis. From the available data it is possible to reconstruct in broad strokes the growth of world population and differential growth in major parts of the globe for the past 3 centuries.

Historical growth. In 1650, it has been estimated, there were approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ billion people in the world. Thus, in the 3 centuries which have elapsed since that date the population of the world has increased about 5-fold. It more than doubled in the 2 centuries between 1650 and 1850 and more than doubled again in the past century. Over the entire 300-year span, the world's population increased at an average annual rate of about 5.6 per 1,000. The average annual rate of growth increased during this period, however, having been about 4 per 1,000 in the first of these centuries (1650 to 1750), 5 per 1,000 in the second century (1750 to 1850), and 8 per 1,000 in the last century (1850 to 1950). From 1920 to 1950, despite the war, the population of the world has grown at a rate of 9 per 1,000 or almost 1 per cent per year.

In the anthropologist's perspective of the history of man, the increase in the population during the last 300 years must be regarded not only as unprecedented but as explosive in character. This statement may be documented by a simple calculation. An increase of 1 per cent per year, while it may seem low as a rate of return on investment, is in reality a fantastically high rate of increase for a population over any prolonged period of time. It means a doubling of the population in about every 70 years. For example, 100 persons reproducing at this rate for only 5,000 years would produce a population of 3,981,000,000 times 10 raised to the 15th power—a population which would result in a density of 2,746,000,000 persons per square foot of land surface on the globe. Looking to the future, a 1 per cent average annual increase of the present world's population would produce a population of about 4 billion by the year 2000, over 500 billion by the year 2500, and even more astronomical figures if projected further.

It would seem reasonably safe to conclude that throughout most of man's residence on the globe, population grew very slowly indeed and at only fractions of the rates of increase observed during the modern

era. Furthermore, it would also seem reasonably safe to conclude that contemporary rates of world population increase cannot possibly continue for a prolonged period of time. In this connection, it is perhaps worth noting the futile discussions, on the whole, of the population-carrying capacity of the earth. Baker, Thompson, and Salter, taking into account foreseeable increases in agricultural productivity, estimate a maximum potential world population of about 5 billion persons. Hollstein, among those with relatively high estimates, calculates a maximum possible population of over 13 billion. Pearson and Harper, at the lowest extreme, conclude that 2.8 billion persons is the maximum that the world can support even at an Asiatic standard of living, and that a population of only 900 million can be supported by the earth at the North American standard of living.

Judged by any calculations, it is clear that the world has experienced an unprecedented demographic revolution in the modern era—one which is still in process and one which cannot possibly continue for long. Let us consider the factors underlying this demographic revolution, its differential impact on the various regions of the world, and some of its attendant problems and implications.

Regional differences. The rate of population growth during these 3 centuries has varied greatly for the different continents. The 5-fold increase of world population represents an averaging of a 166-fold increase in North America, a 23-fold increase in Latin America, a 6½-fold increase in Oceania, a 6-fold increase in Europe (including the USSR), a 5-fold increase in Asia, and only a doubling in Africa. The special place of Europe and areas of European settlement in the demographic revolution is noteworthy. The population of areas of European settlement increased 8- to 9-fold from 1650 to 1950 and of Europe plus the area of European settlement about 7 times.

The differential rates of population increase in the various portions of the globe are interrelated with general historical and cultural changes in these areas. Fertility, mortality, and migration are to a considerable extent functions of culture, and the basic changes in fertility and mortality schedules and in human migration which account for world and regional population growth are products of basic cultural changes.

Patterns of population dynamics. Patterns of population dynamics, that is, patterns of birth and death rates, disregarding migration which does not affect the world total, can in terms of historical population growth be classified into three convenient, ideal-type categories: pre-industrial, transitional industrial, and industrial. It is in an understanding of these patterns of population dynamics that the demographic

revolution and differential rates of population growth throughout the world can be understood, and that the projection of the world's population can be made meaningful and its implications grasped.

Preindustrial population dynamics. The preindustrial pattern of population dynamics is essentially a pattern of high fertility and high mortality. Typically, the relation of the death rate to the birth rate is such as to produce a relatively low rate of natural increase and, in effect, to maintain a population equilibrium through an extremely wasteful process of large numbers of deaths offsetting large numbers of births. The high birth rate and the high death rate are functions of preindustrial societies. Although elaborate explanations or rationalizations are frequently assayed in explanation of high fertility, there is probably adequate explanation to be found in Malthus's observation that the "sex urge is persistent and permanent." The high mortality of preindustrial cultures is to be understood in terms of low productivity, famine, chronic malnutrition, debilitating disease, and often political disorder with attendant internecine warfare. This pattern of population dynamics undoubtedly characterized population growth during most of man's presence on earth. It is exemplified by such evidence as is available for Japan during the Tokugawa period or for India between 1872 and 1921.

Transitional population dynamics. The transitional pattern of population dynamics is characterized by a relatively rapid and great decline in mortality with a lag in the decline of fertility. In consequence, the gap between fertility and mortality—natural increase—is greatly increased. Under the initial impact of increased productivity in agriculture, the development of commerce, and the emergence of industry, relatively rapid strides are made in the reduction of the death rate. This reduction in mortality is associated with changing culture in the early stages of the "industrial revolution," including, particularly, improved means of transportation and communication, increased productivity, the introduction of at least elementary sanitation and public health methods, and the achievement of relative political order and peace.

In contrast to the relatively quick drop in mortality, the birth rate of the preindustrial order tends to remain high during the initial stages of industrialization. The lag in the decline in fertility is attributable to the fact that there are more institutional, cultural, and personal factors operating to resist the control of fertility than operate to resist the control of mortality. In general, it may be pointed out that there tend to be relatively few religious, moral, political, or cultural barriers to reducing mortality and that the programs which involve the reduction of mortality require governmental action, collective and impersonal, rather than

individual and personal action. The control of fertility tends more to involve individual motivation and behavior and is usually beset with varying forms of religious, moral, political, and cultural barriers.

Populations in the industrial-transitional stage of population growth increase rapidly, and, in fact, it is this type of growth that accounts for the relatively rapid increase of the populations of Europe and the Americas during the past 3 centuries. This type of increase is well illustrated by the experience of the British Isles, the United States, Japan, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, among others.

Industrial population dynamics. The pattern of industrial population dynamics is characterized by both low mortality and low fertility. In the later stages of industrialization, as a result of basic institutional changes and changes in personal values and human motivation which are not yet fully understood, control is exerted not only over mortality but also over fertility. In cultures in the later stages of industrialization greatly decreased birth rates reflect voluntary parenthood, achieved largely through various methods of birth control. The Western countries are, on the whole, in this stage of population growth.

It is possible to document the great declines in fertility in the more advanced industrial nations, and through the utilization of demographic-analytical techniques to demonstrate that Western countries have reached a stage in the balance of fertility and mortality in which, once their age and sex structure reflect contemporary birth and death rates, they will no longer be reproducing themselves. That is, even though most Western countries still have an appreciable natural increase, this increase is attributable to the present favorable age structures of their populations which reflect the relatively high fertility of preceding generations. It is necessary at this point to take note of the remarkable upswing of marriage and birth rates in Western countries, including the United States, in the postwar period. Some have heralded this upswing as an indication of a reversal of the downward secular trend in fertility. It is clear that the great increase in marriages and births is of a magnitude to require many short-run adjustments to a substantially increased total and youthful population. It is not so clear, however, as yet, that the secular trend has been significantly reversed.

Population projections. In the present state of knowledge it is not possible to predict the future population of the world or of its component areas. An ability to predict future population would imply an ability to predict the future course of technological advance, the impact of induced economic programs, of business cycles, of human motivation,

of government policies, and of war, among other things. It is possible, however, to construct population projections for the world and its constituent parts based on previous trends and explicitly stated assumptions. Although it is almost certain that the assumptions made as bases for such projections will not hold, projections nevertheless have utility for analytical and planning purposes.

A number of projections of world population and various areas of the world have been made both prior to and since the war. Let us examine the most recent ones for the world and its broad regions—those prepared by the staff of the United Nations.¹

The projections of the United Nations consist of the calculations of a "hypothetical 1980 population" for the world, the continents, and regions based on the assumption of birth and death rates continuing at observed 1946-48 levels; and a "hypothetical 1980 population" for the world and three groups of regions according to explicitly stated "high," "medium," and "low" assumptions. The former simply projects population growth on the basis of the relatively high postwar rate of natural increase without regard to variations in trends in the various regions of the world or the stage they have reached in their population growth pattern. The latter projections are based on three sets of assumptions—high, low, and medium—taking into account differential trends and the stage of each region in the demographic revolution. These projections are made for only three groups of regions which correspond roughly in their vital rates to the patterns described above.

The hypothetical 1950 population of the world, based on the assumption that birth and death rates would continue at 1946-48 levels, may be estimated as 3,523 million. This would represent an increase for the 30-year period of over 1,100 million persons, or 46 per cent. It would represent an average annual rate of growth of about 1.3 per cent.

The hypothetical populations of the world in 1980, resulting from the "high," "medium," and "low" assumptions, are as follows: "high," 3,636 million; "medium," 3,277 million; "low," 2,976 million.

The high projection results in an increase of over 1,200 million persons, or about 50 per cent, representing an average annual rate of growth of 1.4 per cent. The medium assumption results in an increase of about 800 million persons, or 35 per cent, with an average annual rate of growth of about 1 per cent. The low assumption results in an increase of less than 600 million persons, or 23 per cent for the period, representing an average annual rate of growth of .7 per cent.

¹ *Population Bulletin*, No. 1 (New York: United Nations, December 1951).

As is indicated by the United Nations in its analysis of its projections, "one may conclude that the population of the world is likely to increase during the next 30 years by at least 500 million, barring major wars or other unforeseen calamities. If conditions are favorable, the increase may be by as much as 1,200 million." The smaller of these increases would mean an increase in 30 years approximately equal to the total 1950 population of Europe and the Soviet Union. The larger of these increases represents a population equal to that of all of Asia in 1950. As is pointed out in the United Nations report, "it would mean a larger growth in 30 years than occurred in the thousands of years from the first appearance of *homo sapiens* to as recently as 1850."

Some implications. The world, as a whole, will increasingly be faced with the problem of controlling its numbers. This is a relatively new problem in human experience. It arises from cultural changes which have destroyed the prehistoric and historic patterns of population equilibrium. It is a problem, more specifically, which arises from human interventionism in the control of mortality without sufficient interventionism, as yet, in the control of fertility to re-establish an equilibrium. We live on a finite globe. We have experienced during the last 3 centuries an unprecedented demographic revolution. The world is now increasing at an average annual rate of growth of about 1 per cent per year. This is a fantastic rate of growth which, as we have seen, cannot possibly be sustained. It inevitably follows that if we continue to control mortality even at present levels, let alone at the reduced levels which are in prospect, we must also control fertility.

The projections of world population document these assertions in a somber way. They indicate the necessity for great increase in the world's productivity even if present levels of living, as they now exist in the various regions of the world, are to be maintained; and for a prodigious increase in productivity if the levels of living of the various peoples on the earth are to be raised. The 64-dollar population question may be stated as follows: Is it possible for the less-developed areas of the world, which already contain more than half of the earth's population, to experience what we loosely call the "industrial revolution," without a repetition of the demographic revolution experienced by the Western world? More specifically, is it possible for the less-developed areas to reap the benefits of the potentially great declines in mortality without a more rapid decline in fertility than that experienced by the Western world?

Attempts to raise levels of living through programs of economic development cannot ignore the mortality-fertility balance. The initial impact of such efforts is to produce great declines in mortality. To raise

the levels of living of the peoples in these areas will therefore require a more rapid increase in productivity than in population. Obviously, an increase in the level of living could be more easily effected if decreases in mortality were accompanied by decreases in fertility. The twentieth century does not afford the same setting for a demographic revolution in the less-developed areas that the seventeenth century provided for Western nations. Moreover, the contemporary world possesses techniques for reducing mortality at much faster rates than that ever achieved by the West. It has available not only means of reducing famine, achieving potable water and food, and practicing public sanitation but also a relatively advanced medical art which includes the antibiotics. But it as yet offers no new means of, or even tangible prospects for, rapidly modifying value systems and human motivation to reduce fertility or miraculous ways of producing incentive in mass populations to increase productivity.

The maintenance of world peace and order, it is increasingly recognized, will in large measure depend on the reduction of the great differences in the levels of living of the "haves" and "have-nots" of the world. Differences of 10 to 1 in per capita income, and in infant mortality, reflecting the differences in levels of living, underlie the international tensions and hostilities of our day. Economic development programs represent perhaps the most powerful weapon we have yet devised to promote peace and to prevent war. Economic development programs, however, are ensnarled in the Gordian knot of "the population problem." It is a problem precipitated by long-time cultural changes. It is a problem that will ever press more urgently to the end that a more equitable balance is achieved between the distribution of the world's peoples and the world's resources and that an equilibrium is attained between human mortality and human fertility.²

² For a fuller consideration of the materials in this paper, see *The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends* (New York: United Nations, 1953). This is the most comprehensive work which has yet appeared on the interrelations of demographic, economic, and social changes, and it contains an excellent bibliography.

THE GROUP INTERVIEW: ITS USE IN A STUDY OF UNDERGRADUATE CULTURE

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This article reports some experience in employing the group interview as a major research technique for studying undergraduate culture. The authors first experimented with the group interview as a data-collection device at an eastern men's university during the academic year 1951-52 when they were serving as staff sociologists for an extended research program in education.¹ Substantially the same experiment was conducted the following year at an eastern women's university. However, the present discussion refers only to the initial use of the technique.

Background. As a background for other studies in which they were involved, the authors desired more information about the undergraduate culture of the university where they were located. The problem arose as to how best to acquire this information in an exploratory but rewarding fashion with a limited budget of time, staff, and financial resources. When literature on the sociology of undergraduate life was consulted, Hartshorne's article on "Undergraduate Society and the College Culture" proved to be the most helpful in providing a general rationale for research in this area, but some of its methodological suggestions were too general to be immediately useful.² However, one suggestion, that of using a group interview approach, was deemed worthy of further consideration. Hartshorne described the technique as follows:

The usual interview methods may be supplemented in this area by the use of the *group interview*. If the investigator can acquire sufficient status within a student group, he may, perhaps with the help of a colleague, use the situation as an opportunity for "drawing out" the students. Occasionally, if barriers of social distance can be broken down—a little beer will help—a group euphoria will elicit statements and unconscious revelations of attitude difficult to secure in any other way.³

¹ *The Study of Education at Princeton* under the direction of Professor Frederick F. Stephan.

² E. Y. Hartshorne, "Undergraduate Society and the College Culture," *American Sociological Review*, 8:321-32, 1943.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

This brief statement was highly suggestive but left unanswered many crucial questions; particularly those pertaining to the composition of the group to be interviewed, the structuring of the interview situation, and the reliability of the data obtained. Reference to the literature on the use of groups as data-collection devices yielded more specific descriptions and appraisals of the group interview⁴ and related techniques⁵ than were found in Hartshorne. However, if one looks beyond the common "interview" aspect of those techniques labeled as group interviews, one discovers a considerable lack of uniformity among other dimensions or aspects of the technique.

Groups that have been "interviewed" have differed in size and with the relative homogeneity-heterogeneity of the members. Some groups have been functional groups in the sense that they have a *raison d'être* apart from research considerations. These the researcher has approached and attempted to manipulate so as to obtain from them the data he desired. Other groups, by contrast, have been *ad hoc* groups which have not existed prior to the commencement of research. These the researcher has created for specific research ends. Criteria of selection for membership in *ad hoc* groups have varied. Some groups have been rigidly stratified; others have not. Finally, whether functional or *ad hoc* in nature, the groups, once selected, have been used in different ways. Some researchers view the group member's function as a research *subject*. The focus is on the member as a unit of study. Others view the member's function as a research *assistant*, wherein the member is treated as an informed co-worker. Studies also differ with respect to the number of

⁴ See, for example: M. Abrams, "Possibilities and Problems of Group Interviewing," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 13:502-06, 1949; E. S. Bogardus, *Introduction to Social Research* (Los Angeles: Suttonhouse, 1936); V. Edmiston, "The Group Interview," *Journal of Educational Research*, 37:593-601, 1943-44; A. Kaplan, A. L. Skogstad, and M. A. Girshick, "The Prediction of Social and Technological Events," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 14:93-110, 1950; G. A. Lundberg, *Social Research* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942); and R. Wagner, "A Group Situation Compared with Individual Interviews for Securing Personal Information," *Personnel Psychology*, 1:93-107, 1948. More recent examples of writings in this area are: R. K. Merton, M. Fiske, and P. Kendall, *The Focused Interview, A Manual*, second edition (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1952); and J. D. Thompson and N. J. Demerath, "Some Experiences with the Group Interview," *Social Forces*, 31:148-54, 1952.

⁵ For example, the member-centered conference and the leaderless group discussion. See C. Argyris and G. Taylor, "The Member-Centered Conference as a Research Method, I," *Human Organization*, 9:5-14; *ibid.*, "The Member-Centered Conference as a Research Method, II," *Human Organization*, 10:22-27; and H. L. Ausbacher, "The History of the Leaderless Group Discussion Technique," *Psychological Bulletin*, 48:383-91.

interviewers used and the role which the interviewer assumes. Sometimes he is more or less a passive observer. Other times he is an active leader, controlling and directing the group effort to a considerable extent.

The above statements represent a few of the many dimensions which may be identified as inherent aspects of the group interview technique. It is the province of many papers and considerable research to assess critically the extent to which such aspects influence the quantity, quality, and reliability of the data obtained. Accordingly, the present paper attempts only to describe the group interview technique *as the authors used it* and to offer some highly tentative conclusions about its utility for research problems similar to that for which it was used.

Selection of the group. Following Hartshorne's suggestion, the authors decided to employ a group interview as their main technique for obtaining an exploratory picture of the main themes and patterns of the student culture, selecting a stratified sample of eight upperclassmen. The authors selected an *ad hoc* group rather than an existing or functional group to insure representativeness. If, for example, the student body had been characterized by distinct subcultures, such as a different way of life for poor undergraduates as opposed to rich ones, and if a pre-existing group had been selected unwittingly from either of these universes, then the picture of undergraduate life to emerge from the group would most likely have been a distorted one. For this reason, the group was chosen to be representative of the student body with respect to five variables: type of secondary school attended, home state (by section of the country), financial status (scholarship, etc.), area of major (humanities, social science, natural science, engineering), and academic record (high, middle, and low). Other studies of the same undergraduate population had indicated that differences of attitude and behavior were more likely to be associated with these variables than with others. Hence, an attempt was made to have each variable represented in the group. Each member of the group was thus regarded as representative of several types of students and was regarded as an informant about these types. The sample was limited to juniors and seniors on the assumption that they were more familiar with the campus customs.

The group was limited in size because previous research had shown that as the size of the group increases the amount of consensus resulting from discussion decreases.⁶ On the one hand, since the research was aimed at describing those aspects of student life which were most characteristic of the student body as a whole, the group size should be such

⁶ A. P. Hare, "A Study of Interaction and Consensus in Different Sized Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 17:261-67, 1952.

as to maximize consensus. On the other hand, it was equally desirable that the group be representative with respect to the five sampling variables. A group of eight was found to meet both specifications.

Use of the group. After the names of the group members had been drawn from university records, each prospective member was contacted personally and asked to participate in a series of discussions on student life. All members met at an organizational meeting in one of the university seminar rooms and were introduced to one another. The purpose of the group was outlined by the authors, as was the general sampling procedure by which the members had been selected.

A discussion of possible effects of university membership on student behavior during a forthcoming vacation period was held to illustrate the type of discussions which would characterize the group meetings. A time for the next meeting was agreed upon and the meeting was adjourned. As with all subsequent meetings, beer, coke, and pretzels were served during the meeting, and the entire proceedings were recorded by stenographic notes and by a tape recorder.

After the organizational meeting, seven other meetings were held. Each was devoted to a major facet of undergraduate life which the authors had conceptualized in terms of major activity areas such as recreation, intellectual activity, extracurricular participation, and sustenance activities—the latter involving considerations of eating, sleeping, rooming, and physical and emotional health problems. The discussion of each area was focused on patterns of behavior which could be identified in that area. In each instance, care was taken to inquire whether a universal pattern existed or whether there were several discernibly different patterns. In the latter instance, the group was asked to describe as specifically as possible the characteristics of the individuals exhibiting the different patterns. Two meetings were devoted to the area of recreation, two to intellectual activity, one to sustenance, and one to extracurricular activities. A final meeting served as a critique of the previous meetings and as an attempt to get at interrelationships between the patterns which the group had identified and discussed for the separate areas. Each meeting lasted two hours by agreement of all participants and, wherever possible, was held in the informal atmosphere of the interviewers' homes at a time convenient to all.

Originally, the authors had intended to approach each area with three basic questions to be addressed to the group members: What do *you* do? What do your friends do? What do most people on campus do? It was hoped that a combination of these three questions would yield a reliable

picture of the range and modality of behavior within each area. Subsequent experience indicated, however, that only the last question could be covered adequately in the group meetings. Since material elicited by this type of question may be more descriptive of ideal than of actual or real behavior, the group discussions were supplemented by a series of one-hour individual interviews with the group members. These were designed to check in detail the student's private reaction to the group sessions and to check the patterns reported by the group as campus norms against the actual behavior of the individual student and that of his immediate friends and acquaintances on campus. Such a technique proved to be extremely useful to the investigators for evaluating the data they were obtaining from the group discussions and their effectiveness in handling them.

After each meeting a transcript was prepared from stenographic notes and tape recordings, and a copy was given to each group member at the next meeting to be checked for accuracy.

Each major area of undergraduate culture was summarized separately, and these summaries were brought together in a final memorandum which sought to incorporate all data into a coherent whole by describing the apparent basic themes in the student culture.

Wherever possible, hypotheses suggested by the data were checked by means of participant observation by the investigators and by reference to external sources such as pertinent student theses, chaplain's records, the campus police blotter, dean's reports, dormitory office files, and other official university records. The group members also wrote a brief description of their particular friendship groups on campus following a standardized outline which was adapted from Hartshorne.⁷ This was the only use of student experience made beyond the group and individual interviews, but the data obtained from the reports and the students' interest in the project suggest that more use could be made of group members with supplementary projects of this kind.

Discussion. At the conclusion of the experiment with the group interview, the investigators felt that it had been a successful technique for obtaining a shorthand description of the main features of the student culture in a fairly brief period of time. They felt that it was invaluable as a preliminary step in designing a more rigorous and comprehensive study of the undergraduate culture by more formal statistical and questionnaire methods. Unfortunately, such a study was not made, so that the data obtained from the group were regarded more as a source of hypotheses than as a thoroughly reliable portrait of the student culture.

⁷ Hartshorne, *op. cit.*

The feeling of the investigators that the portrait obtained was far more than a hypothetical one was supported, however, by the comments of students who were not group members and who were shown the various transcripts and memoranda. Their comments indicated that they considered the description to be essentially an accurate one. Any critical suggestions made were noted as such and entered in the transcripts as points to be clarified with further study.

With respect to further study, one might comment that a descriptive document such as that obtained from the group is often valuable *per se* without regarding it as a preliminary step toward a more rigorous analysis. At a minimum level it reports what eight representative members of undergraduate society agree on as the main features of the way of life of their society. As such, the document proved of considerable interest to various members of the faculty and administration to whom it was shown. Some who were more intimately acquainted with the nonintellectual aspects of the undergraduate scene felt that the document was accurate for those areas of undergraduate life with which they were most familiar and that it was a desirable supplement to official pamphlets and publications which sought to describe the student's life at college.

The authors feel that emphasis should be placed on comments of faculty members who felt that the data obtained by the group interview technique provided a new way of viewing student behavior. Often the educator thinks of the student as an individual for whom the meeting of formal university regulations and requirements is the major problem in college. In so doing he often loses sight of the fact that the student is a member of a society with a prestige structure, value system, etc.—a society which also imposes requirements on its members. The student must meet these requirements as well as those of the university; and, since the greater part of the student's time is spent not with the faculty or administration but with other students, the requirements of student society are often more important and meaningful to him than are those of the "official" culture.

It is possible that such a technique as that described above would prove useful in another institutional setting such as a hospital or industrial concern. One could select a representative group from the institutional universe and have the members discuss problems about which they have common knowledge. However, there may be greater difficulty in securing consensus from the discussion, since other institutions are more differentiated than a student body and behavioral patterns may vary markedly from one section of the universe to another. Perhaps a more rewarding

procedure would be to confine oneself to a single role-category such as lineworkers or office workers or top executives in an industrial concern and nurses or doctors or administrators in a hospital. Data obtained from group interviews held with a representative sample of each role-category could be integrated into a portrait of the whole institutional universe.

IMPACT OF COMPANY POLICY UPON DISCRIMINATION

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This paper is concerned with the impact of company policy upon the presence of racial discriminatory practices in two large mass production industrial organizations in the Middle West. Since the situational approach requires an examination of the diverse factors which cause behavior, and since such factors vary from situation to situation, it is difficult to compare two or more organizations or institutions with any degree of reliability. On the other hand, the authors found two industrial plants which were strikingly similar, with one significant difference. It is this difference that prompts this paper.

The employees of each company are represented by firmly established local unions affiliated with Internationals within the CIO. We will refer to these locals as "the steel local" (USA) and "the auto local" (UAW). In each industry there is a comparable range of skills of the work force, and the rates of pay are equally good. Negroes and Jews occupy important positions in each union organization. Minority groups in the steel local constitute about 30 per cent of the membership, of whom about one third are Mexican, while 20 per cent of the auto local fall in the minority group category, almost all of whom are Negro. The collective bargaining contracts in both situations are similar with regard to nondiscrimination clauses, seniority provisions, and job posting. Both cases are conflict situations, since both have a record of authorized strikes, slow-downs, wild-cat strikes, and other restrictive practices. Both unions are democratic organizations with highly developed internal political life in which a variety of factions compete for power. Both locals have a literate and aggressive leadership group. The organizational policy of both companies and both unions is opposed to discrimination because of race, religion, or nationality. Typical of these declarations of policy is the one of the company whose employees are represented by the auto workers' local: "There shall be no discrimination against any person because of nationality, race, sex, political, or religious affiliation or membership in any labor or other lawful organization."

Data were obtained from interviews with a representative sample of local union leaders and inactive members employed by the two companies, supplemented by interviews with various members of the management group of each plant. When the employees were asked whether the company discriminated in any way, their replies varied from a categorical declaration that the company discriminated to the other extreme. An intermediate category of replies was that, although the company did not discriminate, some departments and supervisors did. For the purpose of this paper, the authors used only those findings which stated unequivocally that the company discriminated.

Sixty-two per cent of the leaders and 37 per cent of the inactive members of the steel local reported that the company discriminated against Negroes or Mexicans. The leaders were firmly convinced that discrimination would be much worse if it were not for the vigilance of the union in policing its contract. One of these leaders stated that "... the company discriminates as much as they can get away with." An inactive member appraised the situation in the following terms: "Sure, it's been going on all the time (discrimination) against Negroes and Mexicans. It goes on in some departments just as if there were no union." Many departments in the plant are "lily-white," and the higher-paying jobs are occupied almost entirely by whites. The authors found also that many stewards have failed to police the nondiscrimination policy of the union through either inertia or disagreement.

In contrast, 15 per cent of the leaders and 15 per cent of the inactive members of the auto local reported that the company discriminated. It is significant that a number of Negro respondents reported that their company did not discriminate. The leaders of this local, like those of the steel local, reported that the union is the most significant factor in keeping the company from discriminating. When asked if everyone gets a fair break in the company, one officer of the union replied: "Yes, I think they do. The company has a pretty good reputation in that respect. The company is keenly aware of the racial question. It cooperates with the union in that respect. We respect them, although at times we criticize them for not carrying their policy out far enough. They once told us that they believed in the principle of nondiscrimination and would follow it out where it operates under their control, but that they aren't crusaders, and won't move in areas where they don't have control—as in the community."

This theme of cooperation between the company and the union on the issue of race discrimination is expressed repeatedly by the respondents

from the auto local, while the preponderance of responses from the steel local show the contrary—that the problem is a persisting area of conflict between the union and the company.

An auto local officer reported an instance showing how the local policed its contract: "The supervisors are afraid to discriminate in any way whether they believe in it or not. We ran into only one case where a foreman called a guy a name (Nigger) and we had him up for discharge and he would have been fired if the union insisted on it, but he begged for another chance and the union gave it to him." This respondent added, "... The company takes pride in their position on the race question. . . . The company has clean hands on the race question." The company's concern with racial attitudes is illustrated by the following remark by a union officer: "Top management drilled into foremen not to use the word 'Nigger' or discriminate against Negroes in any way. I don't think they'd put on anybody who would discriminate." In contrast, numerous respondents in the steel local reported that derogatory remarks of this kind were frequently used by supervisors.

It would appear to be a political advantage for an opposition faction, as in the auto local, to say that the incumbent officials were not sufficiently vigilant in policing the contract with regard to discrimination because of the large percentage of Negro members. Yet, despite the temptation to use this sort of argument to gain political advantage in the union, only one respondent did so among those interviewed. This individual is generally identified in the plant community as a communist who gets his only support from stirring up this kind of agitation. In the steel local, on the contrary, equal rights for minority groups is a constant issue in all elections for union office.

What accounts for these differences in the two industrial situations studied? At the time of this study, the steel company had not instituted a training program for its supervisors to acquaint them with its policy of nondiscrimination, although their regular supervisory meetings discussed other phases of company policy from time to time. One superintendent illustrated how company policy operated in practice: "It's up to you to run your department. You try and get the best man you can get. You have to be able to handle them (Negroes) and the way I feel is not to get too many. I try and keep them split up and it seems to work better." Each departmental superintendent was given freedom to operate his own department as he saw fit, as long as he secured efficient and profitable results.

The plant represented by the auto local, in contrast, in addition to advocating a strong nondiscriminatory policy for many years, has circulated this policy along with other approved company policies. The company discusses its nondiscrimination policy in all supervisors manuals, which are reviewed periodically at the plant level by the local training director. All new employees are told about this policy and the company has also hired Negroes in the employment office. Top management maintains a periodic check on plant practices by requesting a yearly report on the number of Negroes employed, their classification, and the number upgraded within the year. The official policy of the company is that "one does not change deep-rooted attitudes overnight by a written statement of policy; it is something that requires constant work and continued prodding."

Conclusions. There can be no dispute with the importance of the issuance of policy statements regarding race relations by those in authority. Such issuance of policy statements defines the expected behavior of those in the situation and offers yardsticks for the measurement of subsequent behavior. But simple enunciation of policy is never sufficient to produce the behavior desired. In the two situations cited above, the only significant difference is that one company and union actively implemented its nondiscrimination policy, while the other company merely announced it without insuring its effective communication to the supervisory force, with the result that discriminatory practices continued.

A STUDY OF INTERRACIAL MARRIAGES BASED ON DATA FOR LOS ANGELES COUNTY

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The possibility of widespread interracial marriage has been used as a fundamental argument against ending racial restriction in many social areas. Ultimately, most discussions on racial issues turn upon the thought that if equality be given the out-race group in such fields as the economic, political, and civil, interracial marriage would follow, with a resultant collapse of society as it may then be known.

The California miscegenation laws, enacted in 1850 and later, have prohibited the marriage of Caucasians with Asians, Filipinos, Indians, and Negroes. By the California definitions it may be seen that racial distinctions have been determined on the basis of social groups, rather than biological groupings. Exceptions to the definitions were not made on the basis of mixed ancestry, unless the individuals were overwhelmingly of Caucasian background.

Upon the disposition, by the California Supreme Court, of *Perez v. Sharp*, a case instigated by a Negro-Caucasian couple who wished to marry in California, an opportunity developed to observe the initial effects of interracial marriage upon a predominantly Caucasian society, and, to a degree, the resultant effects upon those participating in such marriages.¹

From November 23, 1948, when the state marriage license bureaus accepted applications for interracial marriages, several questions of significance became apparent, among them, To what extent would the population at large participate in interracial marriage? and What would be some of the personal and social problems arising from these marriages?

In developing the study the present writer examined the records of the Los Angeles Marriage License Bureau with the help and cooperation of that office. For the first year 104 cases were tabulated, but the actual number of marriages was 100. Names, addresses, age, race, and sex were noted. A control group of 100 couples also was established at that time by selecting the next couple to apply for a marriage license after an interracial couple.

¹ A study suggested by Dr. E. C. McDonagh, University of Southern California.

Whenever registered, the occupation, party affiliation, and addresses were determined or verified at the office of the County Registrar of Voters.² The chief function served by the registrar's office was the location of couples through more recent addresses than those given at the marriage license bureau.

Over 50 per cent of the couples were located from these data, either singly or together. In order to obtain as much uniformity of data as possible, a schedule was constructed to this end.

In the study of the quantitative and qualitative structure of these marriages from the metropolitan area of Los Angeles, California,³ it was found that little interest was manifested by the population at large toward participation in interracial marriage. From the 21,060 marriage license applications filed by the Bureau during the period of November 23, 1948, to November 23, 1949, the number of interracial couples who applied, as already indicated, was 100. The percentage in the Los Angeles area of those who married interracially is thus seen as .0047, or less than one half of 1 per cent.⁴

The participation in interracial marriage by these couples revealed that, contrary to expectations in some circles, the Filipino participants exceeded the Negro participants by 42 to 31. Chinese and Japanese, categorized separately by the Bureau, were, respectively, 17 and 10. A breakdown by sex reveals that 40 Filipino males participated to 2 females, 27 Negro males to 4 females, 12 Chinese males to 5 females, and 3 Japanese males to 7 females. Thus, it is seen, that 82 per cent of the out-race groups were of male composition, while 18 per cent were of female.⁵

Modifying the significance of the 100 interracial marriages is the fact that 35 per cent of the Filipino-Caucasian marriages do not represent marriages with the stereotyped Nordic-Caucasian individual. These atypical partners were of Mexican-American background, a combination

² Of the 200 interracially married individuals, slightly less than 25 per cent were registered voters.

³ Randall S. Risdon, "Selected Problems Arising from Interracial Marriage in the Metropolitan Zone of Los Angeles City," unpublished master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1952.

⁴ Of these marriages it should be noted that approximately 10 per cent had been living previously in a common-law relationship, and that their marriage license application and subsequent marriage ceremony merely legalized a *de facto* family situation.

⁵ Of the Asian Caucasian couples, Chinese and Japanese, it was noted that 50 per cent of the cases showed an age seniority of the female. Whether this represents restricted selection of marital choice on the part of American soldiers during the Asiatic occupations or greater honesty on the part of Asiatic women could not be ascertained. Dr. Samuel B. Leger, one-time educator in China, states that economic folkways made this a common custom in China.

which tended to make for close cultural identity in language and religion, as well as similarity of physical appearance. To a lesser degree the other categories were similarly atypical of Caucasian-other-race marriages because of the participation of the Mexican-Americans. Whether measured subjectively or objectively, social distance between these couples would not appear so great as would be the case with individuals who more nearly fit the Caucasian stereotype.

Relative to the age of the participants in interracial marriage, the study revealed that the interracially married males' participation was fairly uniform from ages 20 to 45. Males in the control group revealed a heavy participation in the 21 to 31 age group. The females in the former category clustered in the 18 to 47 group, while females in the control group were heavily represented from age 18 to 19, but maintaining a sustained participation until age 69.

In terms of averages, the interracially married male was 34.56 years of age, his counterpart in the control group was 31.38. Women in the interracially married group were 27.63 as compared with 30.63 for women in the control group. Men, marrying interracially, were older, and their wives were younger, than those in the control group.

There was no set pattern of education noted among the groups comprising the interracially married elements. The greatest disparity among couples was seen in the Filipino-Caucasian contingent. Males had completed, on the average, 12.2 years of education to 8.8 for their wives. The males in the Oriental-Caucasian marriages had completed 11.8 years to their mates' 12.4. Females who married Negroes led all groups with a total of 12.7 years in school to their husbands' 10.5. Compared with national averages, the educational attainments of the individuals who married interracially are high.

The accommodation of the interracially married couples to society at large often rests on pseudo, rather than actual, accommodation. From the testimony gathered, it would appear to be almost a state of truce that interracially married couples are living in, rather than a social atmosphere of acceptance. They appear to live with the feeling that social conflict in some form is always in the offing. These couples are not readily welcomed as friends by most of their contacts in either race. Perhaps the exception to the general social withdrawal from contact with interracially married couples is found in the Filipino group. Couples in this category are usually well received by the Filipino community.

It was observed that interracially married couples must rely upon themselves and their own power of determination to continue a marriage in the face of covert, and sometimes overt, social disapproval. Many of the couples gave the impression that they are more interdependent than those couples who marry within their own race. A greater appreciation by the Caucasian for the other-race group, a condition which often was noted, seems to be the result of perhaps a mature and realistic evaluation on the part of the Caucasian. As a result, both the Caucasian and his partner tend to identify themselves with the other-race group from preference, as well as for the negative reason, rejection by the Caucasian group.

Although the Negro has not participated in interracial marriage to the extent that the Filipino has, it was largely for him that the miscegenation laws of California were written. Popular belief seemed to indicate that the male Negro was eager to marry white women. This belief overlooks the point that marriage is not a compulsory act, and that Caucasian women need not, and do not, marry members of the other races unless they elect to do so. The percentage of interracial marriages for the Negro was not significant. His total record in relation to total marriages was somewhat less than one sixth of 1 per cent.

The prognosis for interracial marriages already established, and the growth of others, does not appear to be very favorable. In interracial marriage the security and orderly living which most people hope to obtain from marriage are made doubly difficult of obtainment by the nature of society and the cultural heritage which each race brings to it. Problems of these marriages are those of the unclassified marriage multiplied and magnified many times by social opposition.

RECORDED INEBRIACY IN WISCONSIN AN ANALYSIS OF ARRESTED INEBRIATES IN TWO WISCONSIN COUNTIES*

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The problems of inebriacy. One of the many social problems demanding attention in modern society is inebriety or drunkenness, which scientific workers now study in terms of the problems of alcohol. This procedure has eliminated many fallacious theories. Sociologists using this approach are interested in customs, social controls, and the institutions related to human consumption of alcoholic beverages.

One important approach to the study of the problems of alcohol is the analysis of available information in the official records of the law enforcement agencies of various communities. How old are the inebriates? What is the ratio between the males and females? What are the proportions of single, married, divorced, or widowed among the inebriates? How many times are the same individuals hurried through the courts in a year's time? Do they live primarily in rural or urban areas? These and other points need critical examination in order to develop basic information necessary to understand the problems of inebriacy.

Background of the study. In early 1949 the police departments of the cities of Superior and Madison, Wisconsin, and the Sheriff Departments of the respective Douglas and Dane counties, Wisconsin, made their records available for study as a part of a project for the establishment of alcoholic treatment centers under the sponsorship of the Wisconsin State Bureau of Alcohol Studies. The writer was a research assistant for the Bureau at the time. Due to the accessibility of the records, the cooperation of the local Alcoholic Anonymous groups in furnishing clerical aid, and, finally, because of the differences of the characteristics of the two areas, a study was planned of the 1948 recorded inebriates of the two counties.

Comparisons were made between the 1948 recorded inebriate population and the 1950 census population of each county, between the rural inebriates and the urban inebriates of each county, and between the inebriates in the two counties. The characteristics of race, age, rural or

*The material for this article was taken from the writer's unpublished master's thesis, "A Comparative Study of the Characteristics of Recorded Inebriates in Two Wisconsin Communities," University of Wisconsin, 1953, a study made under the direction of Professor William H. Sewell and Professor Douglas G. Marshall.

urban residence, sex, marital status, ever-married status, and occupation classification of the inebriates were studied. More than 81 comparisons were made, using the chi-square test of significance and the corrected coefficient of contingency to show association.

This study relates to inebriates who are in the public eye and under the scrutiny of law enforcement agencies. It refers to those who become problems of the law enforcement agencies and are arrested. A thorough study and analysis is needed of the inebriates that do not become problems of these agencies to give a rounded picture of the problems of inebriacy. The comparative strictness of the law enforcement agencies in the two areas also needs study.

Further study and analysis needs to be made of female inebriates to learn more of their characteristics. There was such a small group of female inebriates in these two counties that the statements concerning them should be taken only as possible indications that need further investigation.

General characteristics of the two counties. Dane County is located in the central portion of Southern Wisconsin, has a land area of 789,120 acres, and in 1950 had a population of 169,357 persons, ranking second in population among Wisconsin counties. Madison, the county seat, is the second largest city in Wisconsin with a 1950 population of 96,056. Madison is also the capital of the state of Wisconsin and is an industrial, political, educational, and agricultural center.

Douglas County, located in the extreme northwest corner of Wisconsin on the shore of Lake Superior, has a land area of 869,509 acres, and in 1950 had a population of 43,499 persons, ranking fifteenth in population among Wisconsin counties. Superior, the Douglas County seat, is primarily a maritime, railroad, transfer, and storage center for iron ore, copper ore, wheat, flour, and coal. With a 1950 population of 35,323 persons, Superior ranked eleventh in population size among Wisconsin cities.

The two counties are dissimilar in many respects. Dane is an old farming area, has rich farm land, and is an area of intensive farming practice. Douglas is relatively undeveloped in agriculture but has a great deal of forest, mineral, and waste land. The climate in Douglas County is more severe than in Dane, and the intense cold during the winter months causes considerable unemployment.

Dane County had approximately 141 persons per square mile in 1950, while Douglas County had 35 persons per square mile, approximately one fourth the density of Dane County. Between 1940 and 1950 Dane

population increased 29.6 per cent, while Douglas population decreased 0.9 per cent. The population of Madison increased 41.7 per cent, and the population of Superior increased 0.5 per cent in the same period. Approximately 61 per cent of the Dane County population was in centers of 2,500 persons or larger; 76 per cent of the Douglas County population was in Superior, the only population center of 2,500 persons or more in the county.¹

The extent of resident and nonresident inebriacy. The police records of Madison and the sheriff's records of Dane County had a total of 1,506 persons arrested on inebriate charges in 1948.² These inebriates were arrested a total of 2,237 times on inebriate charges with an average of 1.5 inebriate arrests per inebriate. This county had an inebriate rate of 8.9 per thousand general population and an inebriate rate corrected for age of 11.6.

Resident inebriates accounted for 1,199, or 79.6 per cent of the total Dane County inebriates; nonresident inebriates accounted for 20.4 per cent. Resident inebriates were arrested 1,859 times (83 per cent of the total inebriate arrests) on inebriate charges in 1948, an average of 1.5 inebriate arrests per resident inebriate. Nonresident inebriates were arrested 378 times, 1.2 inebriate arrests per nonresident inebriate.

The City of Superior Police and the Douglas County Sheriff's Department recorded a total of 1,175 persons arrested 1,771 times on inebriate charges in 1948, an average of 1.5 inebriate arrests per inebriate. They had a range of 1 to 12 inebriate arrests, an inebriate rate of 25.2 per thousand general population, and an inebriate rate corrected for age of 33.0.

Resident inebriates accounted for 678, or 58 per cent, and the nonresident inebriates accounted for 42 per cent of the total inebriates of Douglas County. Resident inebriates were arrested 995 times (56 per cent of the total inebriate arrests), an average of 1.5 inebriate arrests per inebriate; the nonresident inebriates accounted for 775 inebriate arrests, an average of 1.6 inebriate arrests per nonresident inebriate.

Dane County had half the per cent of nonresident inebriates of Douglas County, 20.4 per cent compared with 42 per cent. Of the latter nonresident inebriates the per cent of total inebriate arrests was twice that of the former, 34 per cent compared with 17 per cent. The north-west county inebriates rates were nearly three times the south central

¹ An incorporated area with 2,500 population or more was considered an urban area. All nonurban areas were defined as rural areas.

² Persons arrested on charges of drunkenness, drunk and disorderly conduct, and operating a motor vehicle while intoxicated were defined as persons arrested on inebriate charges.

county inebriate rates, 8.9 compared with 25.2 and 11.6 compared with 33, respectively.³ The problem of inebriacy is more concentrated in non-resident inebriates in Douglas County and the inebriate rates are much higher than in Dane County.

A distribution of the recorded inebriates by the number of times arrested on inebriate charges in 1948 indicated that about half of the Dane County and of the Douglas County inebriate arrests were of individuals arrested only once. A larger percentage of the latter than of the former inebriate arrests were from persons arrested one, two, and three times in the total and rural inebriate groups.⁴ The south central inebriates had larger percentages in the groups arrested four or more times than the northwest inebriates. The position was reversed in the rural inebriate groups, where the Dane inebriates had larger numbers proportionally in the groups arrested two or more times on inebriate charges. The inebriates from the two counties were significantly different at the 1 per cent level of significance in the number of times arrested on inebriate charges.

Inebriacy and race. In both counties inebriates were predominantly white with small percentages of Negroes and others (American Indians). In Dane County the percentage of Negroes in the resident inebriate population was more than five times the percentage of Negroes in the "control population";⁵ in Douglas County the percentage of Negroes in the resident inebriate population was three times the percentage of Negroes in the "control group." The percentage of the other race population (American Indian) in the inebriate population was nearly 17 times the percentage in the control group in Dane County and four times the percentage in the Douglas County "controls."

Inebriacy and sex. The inebriates of both counties were concentrated primarily in the male populations. In Dane County 93 per cent of the resident inebriates were male and 7 per cent were female, a sex ratio of 1399, while the control population had a sex ratio of 95. Ninety per cent of the Douglas County resident inebriates were male and 10 per cent were female, a sex ratio of 912; the control group had a sex ratio of 108 males to 100 females.

³ In comparing these figures it must be kept in mind that there may have been a difference in the strictness with which the laws against inebriacy were enforced in the two counties.

⁴ The resident inebriates in each county were classified into total inebriates (rural and urban), urban inebriates, and rural inebriates for analysis.

⁵ The arrested inebriates of each county were subtracted from the general population of the specific county to provide a control group. This group will be designated "control population," "control group," or "controls" to distinguish its members from the inebriates and also from the total population.

Age and inebriacy. The resident inebriates in both counties were heavily concentrated in the 20-49-year age groups. The controls were less concentrated in the aforementioned age groups and were spread more extensively through all age groups represented. The two populations were significantly different in age distribution at the 1 per cent level.

Dane inebriates were concentrated in the young adult and early middle age groups, while Douglas inebriates were concentrated in the older middle age groups. The latter also had a larger percentage of teen age inebriates than the former. The median age of inebriates for Dane was 38 years, while for Douglas inebriates the median age was nearly 41 years. The inebriates of the two counties were significantly different in age distribution at the 1 per cent level.

Female inebriates of both counties were concentrated in the 30-39-year age groups and the male inebriates in the 20-29-year groups.

Rural or urban residence and inebriacy. The arrested inebriates were predominantly from urban areas. Approximately 80 per cent of the Dane County inebriates and 91 per cent of the Douglas County inebriates were from urban areas. There was one rural inebriate for every three urban inebriates in Douglas County; in Dane County there were two rural inebriates for every three urban inebriates. This indicates a different location of residence for the two inebriate populations. They were significantly different in rural or urban residence at the 1 per cent level.

Sixty-one per cent of the Dane County controls and 75 per cent of the Douglas County controls were from urban areas.⁶ Inebriates and controls were significantly different in both the rural and urban residence.

Marital status and inebriacy. The resident inebriates of Dane County were 43 per cent single, 42.5 per cent married, 2.6 per cent widowed, and 11.9 per cent divorced. The control group was 31.1 per cent single, 60.0 per cent married, 7.5 per cent widowed, and 1.4 per cent divorced. This shows that the inebriates had a larger percentage single and divorced than the control group, who had a larger percentage married and widowed than the inebriates. The two groups were significantly different in marital status at the 1 per cent level. The same situation existed between inebriates and the control population of Douglas County.

⁶ The term *controls* is used to refer to the control group, that is, to the total population minus the arrested inebriates.

The female inebriates of Douglas County had a larger percentage married than the control females, 79 per cent compared with 50 per cent. Among all female inebriates there was a larger percentage divorced than among male inebriates. Female inebriates also had a larger percentage married than did the male inebriates.

Douglas County inebriates had a larger percentage single or married than Dane County inebriates; the latter had a larger percentage widowed or divorced than the former. The two inebriate populations were significantly different in marital status at the 1 per cent level.

Ever married status and inebriacy. After marriage 21 per cent of Dane County inebriates were divorced compared with 2 per cent of the control group. Approximately 5 per cent of the marriages of the former population were broken by death compared with 11 per cent of the latter population. This shows that the marriages of inebriates were broken more often by divorce and less often by death than the control population marriages. The two groups were significantly different in maintaining their marriages.

Douglas County inebriates maintained their marriages to a greater extent than the Douglas County controls, for 8 per cent of the former marriages and 13 per cent of the latter marriages were broken from death and divorce. The inebriates had three times the percentage of marriages broken by divorce than by death, 6 per cent compared with 2.1 per cent. The opposite relationship was found among the control population, 2.2 per cent divorced compared with 10.8 per cent widowed. From the above figures it can be seen that the inebriates also had a much larger percentage of marriages broken by divorce than did the control group, 6.0 per cent compared with 2.2 per cent.

Twenty-one per cent of the marriages of Dane County inebriates and 6 per cent of the marriages of Douglas County inebriates ended in divorce. The latter inebriate population also maintained 18 per cent more of their marriages than the former inebriate population, 92 per cent compared with 74 per cent. The fact stands out that the marriages of the inebriates are broken more frequently by divorce than the marriages of the control group.

Occupation and inebriacy. Dane County inebriates were heavily concentrated among the skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers, who contributed 73 per cent of the total inebriates compared with 22 per cent of the control population. Female inebriates were concentrated in the unskilled, housework, and clerical groups.

Douglas County inebriates were heavily concentrated among the skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers. Unskilled workers contributed more than half of the male inebriate population but only a third of the female inebriate population. The inebriate populations and the control populations of Douglas and Dane counties were significantly different at the 1 per cent level of significance.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Inebriacy was found located primarily among the residents of the county rather than among nonresidents.
2. The Negroes and the American Indians have proportionally a higher percentage of their respective population among the arrested inebriates than do the whites.
3. Inebriacy was concentrated in the male population.
4. Arrested inebriates are predominantly residents of urban areas.
5. Male inebriates tend to be single; female inebriates tend to be married.
6. Inebriates have a higher divorce rate than do the control population.
7. The largest group of inebriates comes from the 20-29-year and 30-39-year age groups. Female inebriates tend to be older than male inebriates.
8. Inebriates are concentrated among the skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled occupational groups. Unskilled workers contribute a larger percentage of inebriates than does any other occupational group.
9. Inebriates in one locality differ from the inebriates in another locality in ways similar to the differences in the populations of the given localities.

IDENTIFICATION AS A SOCIAL CONCEPT

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The value of a concept is its usefulness for purposes of understanding phenomena, whether the understanding is to be communicated to operational personnel or to social scientists. Identification is usually thought of as a psychological concept. An understanding of social behaviorisms is facilitated when sociologists accept identification as a *group* membership concept. A number of methodological techniques, areas of investigation, and empirically tested populations have indicated the usefulness of identification as a social concept. Accumulated research experiences relative to motivational aspects of group behavior make possible the formulation of social identification hypotheses and methodological approaches applicable to the testing of these hypotheses.

Most of the work done on the concept of identification has been done by individual psychologists. In discussing identification Courtney states, "It is manifested in tendencies toward likeness, or sameness, or identity between an individual and some other object, person or group."¹

There are many variations of identification in our attitudes and in our relationship to objects, places, persons, and groups with which we are associated. The involvement levels of identification include phenomena for which there is only a vague and almost completely unbiased consciousness. At one extreme, identification may be illustrated by the

¹ Paul Douglas Courtney, *Identification and Learning* (Harvard University, 1949). According to Courtney (pp. 2-12), current psychological applications of the term *identification* stem from Freud's first recorded use of the word in 1899 (Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 4th ed., London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915). Courtney further contends that these current uses appear to be based on the observation that individuals behave and think like certain other individuals or groups. Symond's definition gives three basic meanings for the word. The first is the "modeling of oneself in thought, feeling or action after another person" (P. M. Symonds, *The Dynamics of Human Adjustment*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1946). The second meaning is shown "... in those cases in which a person, instead of copying another person directly, attempts to live out his wishes in the life of another person" (*ibid.*, p. 318). The third meaning which Symonds accepts, with reservation, is "... responding to a person in thought, feeling or action as though he were like or resembled some third person" (p. 318). Courtney chooses this third definition as typical because he feels it is comprehensive and well ordered. He points out that the choice does not imply agreement among the various current definitions and that there are many differences of opinion. In general, Courtney holds that the various definitions imply a psychic link from one person to another manifested in certain behavior, and his research points out the lack of agreement as to time of onset, level of consciousness, direction, or extent and profundity of emotional involvement.

comparison of windowpanes in a room. If they are your window panes or it is your room, the identification is intensified. At the opposite extreme on the continuum of involvement are phenomena which one is conscious of as being a part of one's self. Such phenomena may include the consciousness of one's fingernails or aspects of physical appearance; also one's values, goals, relationships to other individuals, and one's emotional conceptualizations of the groups of which he is a member. Likewise, the degree of our identification will have a very direct effect upon our activities. If a man hits a quiet, innocent dog, he may be scorned by persons observing his act. If it is the observer's dog, the observer's feeling is intensified beyond a generalized objection to someone hitting an innocent dog. Nearly everyone has had the experience of being in a foreign country or in a city far from his home, and of seeing the name of his home town mentioned in a newspaper, a product from his home town advertised, or a reference to his home community. His response is likely to be much more than the mere feeling of recognition. Such references to one's membership groups stimulate a conscious recognition of the psychic feelings of belongingness and an expression of ethnocentrism.²

The study of social phenomena has frequently been inadequate because of the attempt to deal with such phenomena from the viewpoint of individuals who make up the social group. The scientific investigation of individuals' reactions becomes meaningful to the understanding of human relations only when the focus is on massed trends and behavior that are recurrent among the members of a group. The psychic relationships of the individual to the group, being recurrent but varying by degree for each member, provide no more than a means of approaching the abstract group characteristics. Therefore, for sociological investigation it is necessary to conceive of identification, not as an individual psychological process, but rather as a social manifestation of a variable quality expressed by individuals.

The social psychologists however, "... should start first by relating the individual to his reference and membership groups and then proceed to the finer details of personality problems."³ Sherif and Cantril show that identification is regulated by complex social factors. They state, "... it is surprising that most psychologists investigating group problems have not often bothered to go out of their little worlds and examine the

² See Nelson N. Foote, "Identification as the Basis for a Theory of Motivation," as read at the American Sociological Society Meetings, Denver, Sept. 7-9, 1950; also *American Sociological Review*, 16:14-22, 1951.

³ Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1947), p. 7.

wealth of material already collected by sociologists."⁴ It is necessary to consider identification of an individual in relation to his consciousness of his environment. "In the binding in-group formation, the real identifications of individual members are anchored in the group. A sense of loyalty and solidarity is generated in them as a natural process which manifests itself in actual behavior."⁵ In other words, as a group is formed, or as individuals become members of a group, the social process of integration is taking place. Besides the individual members of the group, the integration binds the social values and goals, the psychic characteristics, and the in-group symbols with which the individual members become identified. The social identification which evolves thus constitutes the basis of the group solidarity from which results observable, measurable behavior.

Social identification is the overt and covert manifestations of a "we" feeling as it applies to the situations under consideration. There must be a personal consciousness of "belonging to" or "being a part of" which is reflected in the opinions and behavior of the persons concerned. Group membership identification implies not an individual's *reaction toward a group*, but his reaction as a *functioning element of the group*. This implies a "consciousness of kind," a oneness, a lack of social distance. A transfer student may be integrated into the physical life and activities of a new school situation, outsiders consider him a part of that situation, and the situation itself recognizes him as a component of the school. Social identification is not manifest until the student recognizes that he is *of* the school rather than just *going to* the school. A man working on a job in a mill is recognized by the community as a mill worker. He is considered a mill worker by his fellow workers and his employers. When he considers himself a part *of* the mill, there is manifested a degree of social identification. No man's life is limited to the routine of his industrial activity. His life and contacts outside the job are a part of his total life configuration. In the process of making a study of the social identifications of industrial workers toward jobs, plants, and unions, an interviewee stated to the writer, "We came to Car City from Springfield to get a job in the mill. However, we still felt that we belonged to Springfield. Soon we became active in the schools, church, and other groups. Now we think of Springfield as not being as good a town as Car City which is us." This terse statement by a mill worker not only shows his

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

⁵ Muzafer Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 131), 1948.

strong identification with his family but points out the growth of association and ultimate identification which he feels regarding the community configuration of which he is a part. Leisure-time activities, recreation, church affiliations, and a community life in general—all are interrelated with his consciousness of belonging. The status of his family in the community, their contacts, and their part in schools, play groups, civic activities, and the neighborhood influence the degree of identification which is present or absent regarding his work situation. The influence of the work situation reaches outside the shop. The community, family, and out-shop activities have their influence within the shop. Thus, social identification with an industrial situation is a complex of reciprocal factors found both within the shop and the community of which the shop is a part. It was found that a study to determine a technique for evaluating the relative social identification within a social situation must include the community setting in which any specific situation under consideration is found.

Group membership identifications and their observable manifestations are taken for granted by in-group participants. Therefore, within a familiar cultural setting an understanding of the social phenomena is often incomplete through the error of not recognizing this identification. Unnecessarily laborious or inadequate explanations are often given to explain problems. However, when investigations are carried on among groups whose defined social behavior is not believed to have been within the habit patterns and practices of the researcher, social identification is more readily observable and its importance to a better understanding of social phenomena is more obvious.

There has been much concern with the "face saving" complex of the Orientals. Laymen and social scientists alike have referred to it as a mystery of the Far East. "Face saving" is neither mysterious nor unique to certain groups. It constitutes a manifestation of social identification which is observable in all societies. Where social values and customs differ, as between the United States and Japan, the foreign observer can readily isolate indigenous reactions to social identifications, but many of these observed reactions are assumed to be attempts to "save the face" of an individual. In actuality such behavior is the reflection of social identification from the individual's community of experiences. The American tourist sees a familiar symbol of his culture and expounds on the merits of his culture or the products symbolized: Coca Cola, Kodak, clothing, cars, or education. His only obvious comparisons are those products of the country he is in. The Japanese bows, smiles, and overtly shows no

disagreement. The merits of his country's "sake," Necon cameras, electric power, and over one hundred years of compulsory education are obvious to him. He is not being sarcastic, nor is the American being negative. Neither is attempting to be obnoxious. They are both indicating their group memberships in the ways defined by their societies. In the broadest sense, both are "saving face." Within such defined situations where the hierarchy of group expectancies and social status is known, the Japanese is kind, gentle, polite, discreet, and his behavior is overtly positive to all members of groups that are important to his membership groups. We are not likely to insult the President of the United States to his face regardless of our covert feelings. During World War II the behavior of Japanese soldiers was beyond the definable limits of their known hierarchy of group status. If nothing else, "SCAP," the Allied Command, placed the occupation forces in Japan within the conceivable range of social identifications for the Japanese. In a real sense, there were no Japanese atrocities after the surrender.

The writer stepped between a dog and a child in Japan. The dog attacked this intruder and ripped his clothing. Instead of defending the dog, as might be expected some places, the owner beat and prepared to kill it in order to "save face." To "save face" the torn gabardine suit was rewoven without charge by a Japanese tailor who was approximately two hundred miles from the place of the accident and who did not know the dog or its owners. The suit of an American having been torn by a Japanese dog was reason enough to "save face." Collections of "face saving" incidents appear to strengthen the meaningfulness of the social identification concept and thus guide the researcher to an understanding of the individual's motivational behavior which leads to specific incidents. Again, the total setting in which the incident occurred must be investigated. When the individual "saves face," it is more than his face which he is saving: through his identification as a group member he is protecting his conception of his family, neighborhood, nation, or some other interdependent social entity of his society. It has been difficult for many Americans to understand certain behaviorisms of Japanese diplomats, soldiers, or "kama-kaze pilots." Social suicide, the absolute collapse of social identification, may be as difficult for the individual to face and as destructive to the individual as physical suicide.

Again, in the investigations of the behaviorisms of children the importance of social identification as a useful and researchable concept is emphasized. Much of the child's specific behavior is motivated by its identification with membership groups. The child need not reason why he acts, and when he has not reasoned why, the pressures forcing him to

rationalize are less than those pressures on the adult. There is comparatively little reason for inhibition or for "shame" and when asked why, the child can answer with gems of wisdom like "just because." Explanations may be as pure as reasons when he says "for mommie's sake," or "'cause God (or some equally abstract phenomena) told me to." Alternate behaviorisms are not necessarily known. The child is more than a mere mimic. He expresses the phenomena with which his membership groups are identified in the best way he knows how. His behavior is relatively uncomplicated in its focus because of a minimum of groups to pressure him and a limited history of experiences to choose from. It is not believed that the influence of social identification is less for the adult but that it is more observable through the behavior of the child. We can find indicators for substantiating the significance of social identification in American children through comparisons of their feelings of insecurity regarding group membership. Among them we will find those who, sometime in their experience, have conceived of "running away" from home or escaping from some other social situation which lacks an adequate definition of social identification for them. We can find such indicators equally well among Korean children who have been unable to find more than daily or weekly permanence in group membership identifications. Japanese children who have no formulated knowledge of social insecurity but who guard their family, community, and nation with "face saving" behaviorisms constitute an equally important population for determining indicators of social identification. Even the relatively secure American child attempts to "save face" when the ties between his membership groups, his brothers and sisters, parents, friends, and neighborhood are believed by him to be endangered by his membership or behavior as a member. If he believed that the ties between his membership groups had been broken because of his behavior or that his identity with these groups had been severed, it is conceivable that the child might resort to physical self-destruction. Through the cross-cultural comparisons of children's manifestations of social identification, the social phenomena within any given culture become more understandable.

Another valuable approach in the discovery of the meaningfulness of social identification has been the sociological use of projective techniques. With large samples of Korean and Chinese, tabulated reactions of individuals to related sets of symbols and pictographs when abstracted into behavioral patterns indicated variances in social identifications between action groups. With the action groups thus being identified further research of their interrelationships in definable situations makes possible

the determining of the relative significance of any specific individual or set of indicators to the group membership identification. In such investigations, as with those of children, relative simplicity of investigative procedures can be retained and illiteracy and language barriers may be capitalized on in their limiting the complexity of research procedure and insuring purity in the research techniques. Only that which the technique isolates can be used in analysis. Group membership identifications are so readily manifested by the subjects of investigation, as well as by the investigators, that isolation by means of situational controls and limiting techniques may be an asset.

The social forces of group membership identification are dependent upon the social values and interest groups found within each situation. The psychologists have evidence to demonstrate an individual's identification with factors of his environment. The anthropologists have associated this identification with cultural phenomena. The sociologists have demonstrated that social identification is directed toward the social values of interest groups. These interest groups and their subsequent values cannot be dealt with apart from the total situation. Consequently, identification of persons with a particular situation is relative to their identification with all interest groups related to such a situation.

CURRENT TRENDS AND TENSIONS

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Living together peacefully and efficiently in 1954 is a complex and difficult matter. Many of the simplicities of a century ago are conspicuously missing. The individual of today is largely molded and directed by groups—family, school, church, political party, clubs, union, and government. Men are what they are because they live in organized communities, in contact with others. Rugged individualism of the pioneer type has been supplanted by planning and foresight on the part of groups. Group action is necessary to get things done. Traffic regulations, building restrictions, and sanitary codes which density of population and technological progress have made imperative would have irked my pioneer grandfather; but his grandchildren and great-grandchildren believe that their personal liberty is enlarged by such rules, although they may from time to time object to particular applications of these regulations. Labor legislation and social security laws are other earmarks of a new era. Furthermore, increasing numbers of citizens are coming to believe that the community should aid directly in reducing poverty, disease, and ignorance wherever these evils may be found.

Because of these regulations, the individual living in today's complex world is better able to attend to the business of living and of getting a living. The pressing problem of the next quarter of a century may well be that of discovering the extent to which the individual may or must be controlled in the interest of a group or combination of groups, of a community, and of a world suddenly made interdependent. What are the bounds within which the individual may be allowed initiative and freedom from social control? How may liberty for the individual, teamwork, and efficiency in big and little industry be integrated? How avoid regimentation in an age of technology and bigness? How harmonize the rights of each and every individual with the requirements of national security in an age of acute international tension following World War II and the Korean episode? If we are to avoid a dangerous trend toward confining personal freedom by emphasizing national security, statesmanship of the highest order in all branches of our government and also an understanding on the part of the rank and file of the population are essential. The new social structure, as distinguished from that which arose in the pioneer economy and as skewed by the ever-present

fear of extremely destructive world warfare, calls for some additional curbs upon the individual in the interest of general welfare and national survival.

The true conservative of today would preserve whatever is timely in institutions originating in the past, but would modify them to meet the new conditions of living found in the middle of the twentieth century. If the world is on the "verge of collapse," as some frightened individuals assert, it is because we as a people have been unable to change our institutions—especially those relating to education, our ideals, and our prejudices—to fit a new and strange world into which we have been suddenly thrust by the scientist, the engineer, and the business leader.

Society is held together informally in any given epoch by custom, habits, and traditions. Prejudice, hatred, and fear are social plagues which humans do not as yet know how to eradicate. Where will the generation soon to be in control of the affairs of the community get its notions of values, of purpose, of justice, and of goals or aims; whence come its attitudes and its "culture"? Up to date, these have not been, to any large degree, directly obtained from the school or the college. The new generation is getting these important items from the family, the newspaper—comics, gossip columns, and sport pages—the radio and television, the sensational magazine, billboard and electric sign advertising, the formal and informal clubs and street gangs, and a multitude of other influences coming from the life surrounding its members. In a dynamic and free society, custom, traditions, and goals should be constantly subjected to criticism. Do they fit new conditions? It is the task of educational institutions to cultivate the inquiring mind in regard to our social inheritance. Free enterprise cannot long persist without freedom for ideas.

The centuries extending from the discovery of the Western Hemisphere to the folding up of the geographic frontier constituted an era in which individualism flourished; but, with the end of that epoch and with the growing pressure of population, a very different situation confronts the people of the West. Today is calling for efficiency, order, and discipline. After the closing of the geographic frontier, after two world wars, and after a very severe depression, faith in automatic economic action or competition with little interference on the part of government to bring about progress and the good life for all has been seriously undermined. In part, this tendency is a consequence of the increasing difficulty in determining the quality of products and the need of protecting the consumer from the producers and sellers of many commodities. The now famous Deals—Square, New, and Fair—are indications of a belief

that society, through government, should delimit the field of competition and the area within which the individual may do as he pleases.

Americans are now living in an age in which the engineer and the scientist instead of the small industrialist and merchant are the dominant directing forces of the community. The former insist upon a considerable degree of organization and coordination in industry and in other segments of the economy, while the latter stress free competition and free enterprise unhampered by the dictates of government or of public opinion. The engineer and the scientist consistently stress new standards of efficiency, but efficiency limits individual rights and demands excellent teamwork on a large scale. In turn, teamwork restricts the freedom of each member of the team to do that which he may wish to do. He must subordinate himself in the interest of group action and efficiency. Change, progress, or improvement will inevitably be uncomfortable for many individuals and groups. In this complex technological economy, men and women are entangled in a wilderness of groups and special interests in which both individuals and groups wish to attain and maintain power over other individuals and other groups.

Private industry is equipped to produce, but it alone is not in a position to insure a steady demand for its products. Government may aid in securing a reasonably steady and continuous flow of total demand and thus help to reduce the danger of economic disaster to the nation. Private industry may help to achieve this desirable result by striving to keep wages high and prices low and to operate plants at capacity. Teamwork between private industry and government is essential. A democracy to be successful in today's economy will be obliged to develop a national policy or program in regard to wages and profits and in regard to the distribution of the national income. An unsupervised struggle between farm, manufacturing, retail, labor, management, veteran, and other groups will not lead to efficient production and higher standards of living. The good life and the good economy demand a reasonable degree of security and of stability insured by some governmental intervention, but with considerable opportunity for new projects fostered by private groups, individual initiative, and the hope of social betterment here on earth.

The adaptation of the traditional American way of life to an industrial civilization is not easy of attainment. It requires a willingness on the part of leaders in thought and action to throw on the scrap heap certain cherished business and other traditions which do not fit today's requirements. It demands new mental furniture and a rearrangement of such of the old as is retained. In this new and strange age may we preserve the resourcefulness, the ingenuity, and the persistence of an Eli Whitney, of an Alexander Bell, of a Henry Ford, of the Wright

brothers, and of many others? We sorely need in the present generation the ability of such men in the little-cultivated field of human engineering. Unless we find a way to avoid the stifling of initiative and falling into the abyss of regimentation, the American way of life will lose much of its charm and effectiveness, and workers will not have a "sense of individual human function."

As we live in a world made small by scientific and engineering progress, the United States cannot safely be unmindful of conditions elsewhere on the planet. The United States has been called a well-to-do suburb in a world which is predominantly a slum area. The immediate aims or goals in relatively wealthy America will be far different from those in an area in which the question on the lips of the masses is, When do we eat? We must not attempt to understand only our own problems; we are obliged for our own safety and well-being to make a sustained and intelligent effort to comprehend the basic problems of other peoples and also to find a way of solving them. This we must do in the interest of prolonging and improving our own civilization as well as that of aiding others to achieve higher standards of living and higher ethical standards in the interest of world peace and social justice. Since the turn of the century, exploitative colonization has nearly disappeared, arbitrary control in industry by management and ownership is largely a thing of the past in the United States and Western Europe, labor organizations have increased rapidly in membership and in influence, and government likewise has developed strength. Emphasis has been partially transferred from individual wealth and prestige to social well-being.

In the realm of the physical men try to improve upon nature. We build, for example, canals, dams, harbor improvements, hard-surfaced roads, railways, and landing fields to facilitate travel and transportation. Perhaps man also has the brain power to redirect natural forces in the economic and social world. For centuries the urge to physical combat and the sexual urge have been subject to man-made laws and customs. Is it not probable that society may successfully curb, modify, or channel the so-called natural competitive forces which play in the economic sphere? Since modifications in the physical environment such as flood control and irrigation are generally held to be beneficial, limits or boundaries to competition may also be desirable. It is imperative that the brain power which has been used in physical science be partially directed into the science of human relations, into the cultivation of a social conscience, into a search for ways of reducing friction between groups, into building "roads to agreement," or into adapting old institutions to new conditions.

The trends of the next quarter of a century may be expected to dilute extreme individualism, to emphasize the spirit of teamwork, and to reduce the area and the severity of conflicts between groups. Science, industry, and communication are working in this direction. Social inertia and stress upon the precepts of the American pioneer act as roadblocks in the path of tendencies which are normal to an age of technology. Educational programs with an inherited emphasis upon individual rather than cooperative effort and success may delay the rapidity with which these trends proceed. Educational institutions are called upon to stress the development of socially minded citizens without losing sight of individual differences and of the desirability of competition with others and with one's own past record. It is not an easy assignment, but the excellent football coach builds teamwork along with competition between individual members of the squad. Americans, as well as others, should stand definitely and positively for the institutions and programs which make for a peaceful world. In the eloquent words of the late President Roosevelt, written only a few hours before his death, "if civilization is to profit, we must cultivate the science of human relations—the ability of all people of all kinds to live together, in the same world, at peace."

However, no Utopia on earth may be anticipated. The struggle between good and evil, between the forward- and the backward-looking persons, between the risk takers and the security seekers, and between those who emphasize the importance of expertness and leadership and those who extol the virtues and capabilities of the common man will continue unabated. Mankind has lived for many generations, but the hope of building the City of God here on earth is far from realization. A generation ago a wise economist called attention to the fact that "only the most elementary forces act" upon hungry, overworked, and badly housed men and women. Engineering and science have increased productivity in the United States so greatly that the mass of American citizens are not overworked or incessantly worrying about the next meal. It is now possible to direct an increasing amount of our attention to broader issues such as justice, morality, and religion. Herein lies the promise of a better world in which future generations may live and get a living without unreasonable limitations upon freedom of thought and action. Finally, it is suggested that the hope of the modern world may be bound up in such a revival of religious faith as will give individuals and groups a clear "sense of direction," so that they will strive persistently and courageously to uphold the dignity of the individual and for human betterment the world over for today and for tomorrow.

THE PANEL DISCUSSION LEADER

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A consideration of the functions of the panel discussion leader involves a brief analysis of the panel discussion group within which the leader acts. This type of group is composed of a number of people who wish a subject discussed informally by a few experts in the field.

The panel discussion is to be distinguished from a symposium in which a number of selected experts on a topic present in order, in a somewhat formal way, short prepared talks or papers on different aspects of a selected question. Questions may or may not follow from the listening group.¹

The panel discussion, by contrast, has three or more speakers who converse together regarding a particular theme in the presence of a listening group whose members have opportunity, on recognition of the chairman, to ask questions of the panel members. A main characteristic of the panel members is that they ask questions of one another, thereby bringing out new and unexpected ideas as well as adding zest to the discussion from the standpoint of the listening members. The panel type of discussion group produces one of the most democratic types of discussion.² It fosters a high degree of free self-expression, is informal and unstilted. Its purpose is to present facts and to stimulate thinking, and it has just enough planning and organization to keep its purpose intact, to give needed information, to provide a give-and-take in a thoughtful consideration of a given theme.

The panel discussion is also to be compared and contrasted with the forum. The latter involves one or perhaps more prepared speeches followed by a question-and-answer period. It is sometimes marred by inept "speeches" from the floor. The forum may have the advantage of one carefully prepared and thoroughgoing address, although this procedure may produce too much formality and only a limited amount of thinking by the listeners.

The panel discussion is not to be confused with a debate, in which "each side" tries to win for its side. In a debate a topic for the sake of simplicity is framed in the form of a dichotomy, that is, with two sides

¹ Harleigh B. Trecker and Audrey R. Trecker, *How to Work with Groups* (New York: Woman's Press, 1952), pp. 78 ff.

² Russell H. Wagner and Carroll C. Arnold, *Handbook of Group Discussion* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), pp. 3 ff.

and no middle ground. It does not take into consideration that many questions represent a continuum of positions and not simply a favorable and an unfavorable position. If the urge to win is strong enough, the debaters on each side play up the strong points of their side unjustifiably and unduly play down the weak points. Likewise, each side tends to magnify the weak points and to tear down the strong points of its opponents. The primary aim may become that of winning for one's side and not that of getting at the truth as impartially and as helpfully as possible for the sake of the listeners. As far as the listening group is concerned, a debate is often confusing. A weak argument presented by an able debater may be made to seem far more important than a strong point that is muffed by a weak debater.

In a panel discussion all sides of a question are presented and everybody takes part, both discussants and nondiscussants, with open, truth-seeking minds. Questions are first raised rather than conclusions presented. Minds are kept open and expanding rather than closed and shrinking. Speakers do not argue against each other, but compare facts and viewpoints with each other. Experiences and opinions are presented to be evaluated by everyone for what they seem to be worth.³

The basic function of a leader of a panel discussion is to further, by every word and act, the democratic process. He acts partly as a chairman and partly as a moderator, but more,⁴ he is a kind of "traffic officer" of ideas and clarifies the discussion if it becomes snarled or congested; he is a type of "attendance officer," acting to bring a straying discussion back to its main theme. He maintains a free, open, and democratic atmosphere.⁵ His specialized functions may now be defined more specifically.

1. The initial function of the panel discussion leader is to confer with the members of the group who have selected him in order to get the topic to be discussed well defined. It needs to be worded as simply as possible with every term exactly phrased. Semantics enters at this point and continues throughout the panel discussion meeting, for many terms have a variety of meanings not only in themselves but also in the minds of different persons.⁶

2. The next function of the leader is to assist in dividing the discussion topic into three or more major aspects. Together, these aspects should cover the field to be discussed as well as possible. The relation of

³ Thomas Fansler, *Teaching Adults by Discussion* (New York: New York University, 1938), pp. 104 ff.

⁴ Wagner and Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff.

⁵ Bruno Lasker, *Democracy Through Discussion* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1947), Chaps. I-III.

⁶ LeRoy C. Bowman, *How to Lead Discussion* (New York: Woman's Press, 1939).

each aspect to the others needs to be indicated explicitly. In a way, each aspect is a method of approach to the main theme; each presents the theme in a distinctive and hence different light.⁷

3. Then comes the function of choosing the persons who are to be the panel members. Three or four may not be adequate to cover the given theme, but more may confuse the discussion in the minds of the listeners. A panel member will be chosen to represent each of the three or four approaches that have been decided upon. Each will be an expert in the special approach. Each will have done research work, had practical experience in his specialty, or will be otherwise well qualified to present new data in an interesting way. Each will have shown freedom from being dramatic, emotional, or partisan in his manner of presentation. Each will be able to speak with an open mind and in such a way as to open the minds of listeners, not close them. Each will be an informal, clear, easy speaker.

4. The leader will plan a general rehearsal beforehand. Since the panel discussion is a series of conversations, there will be no set speeches. However, it is well to have the panel meeting preceded by a review of what each panel member is going to talk about and what questions each member will be ready to discuss. In this way, each panel member can make enough preparation so that he will not stumble along when the discussion gets under way. By a rehearsal each panel member will discover how to keep his remarks from overlapping what some other member may be able to state in a better fashion.

As a result of a general rehearsal each panel member, especially if he is appearing for the first time in a panel discussion, will acquire some familiarity with panel methods and an attitude of being at ease in carrying on a conversation before a listening group. A general rehearsal will help each member to clarify his own thinking, to obtain needed data when his memory is hazy, and to enable him to be at ease during the discussion. The listening group will enjoy and gain more from the discussion if the panel members are relaxed and if a free conversational tone prevails.⁸ The leader may play an important part in keeping the panel discussion on a conversational plane.

5. In opening the panel discussion the leader in the capacity of chairman will introduce each of the panel members and explain the aspect of the subject of the discussion topic on which each is best informed. He will also state the topic carefully and mention its current importance.

⁷ Lasker, *op. cit.*, Chaps. IV-V.

⁸ Frank E. Hill and W. E. Williams, *Radio's Listening Groups* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), Chap. 1.

The panel members and the leader-chairman will be seated in a semi-circle or on three sides of a table or two-thirds the way around a round table with the crescent-shaped arrangement open toward the listening group. The leader-chairman will open the panel discussion by calling one of the panel members to express one of his views on the subject. Usually no panel member will talk more than two or three minutes at a time. If he runs over and no other member interrupts him, the leader becomes a moderator, as it were, and asks another panel member to discuss his view on the special point.⁹

It is a function of the leader to condition the panel members to keep up a running fire of questions directed at each other. This procedure sharpens the discussion and repeatedly arouses the listeners' interest. Sometimes the leader will ask a question. Each member will refrain from monopolizing the discussion, and no one will remain passive long.

6. Sometimes the discussion will become argumentative or a tenseness may arise. Feelings may be aroused. Again, the leader acts to "moderate" the discussion. He may have to change the discussion to an entirely different facet of the main theme. He may need to introduce a humorous story, or in some other way bring a discussion back to an onward trend. The leader will act when the discussion descends to haggling, or when undue time is spent on a meticulous difference in use of terms, and yet ordinarily he will keep out of participation as much as possible, and will, to a considerable extent, play the role of a nondirective interviewer.

The leader will maintain the discussion on a question-answer basis as much as possible. He will see that the discussion does not lag. He will keep it from going off on a wild tangent or, to change the figure, getting lost in an unrelated morass. His sense of humor, tactfulness, and ingenuity will be invaluable.

7. After the discussants have performed their roles, then the leader calls for questions from the listening group. As a rule, he may well repeat each question so that all may hear it and so that the person to whom it is directed may have an extra moment to think about his answer. The leader may need to rephrase a question so that its meaning may be clear to everyone. Some questions may not be entertained because of irrelevancy. Sometimes a particular panel member may get all the questions, and hence a spread in questions will need to be effected.

The leader will usually caution the nonpanel members against making speeches. Some may be prone to use the occasion to air personal views or

⁹ Bernice Baxter and Rosalind Cassidy, *Group Experience. The Democratic Way* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943), Chap. I.

"to ride a hobby." Some may need to be encouraged to ask questions, for, many times, timid persons may show great interest but are afraid to speak up and let their inquiries be known. Often the quiet members are thinking the most deeply and are able to ask the most thought-provoking questions.

8. The eighth and concluding function of the panel discussion leader is to watch the time and to save a few minutes for a summary of the whole discussion by himself.¹⁰ If he chooses, he may sum up each panel member's contribution in a few sentences and indicate just what trend the discussion has taken. It is his last function to size up, if he can, what progress has been made or, in other words, to show how the discussion has moved from a point at the beginning to a point at the end. No action will be called for and no vote will be taken. Action of any kind, either for another panel discussion or for a concerted activity by the group remains a function primarily of the group and not of the leader.¹¹ In performing the eight foregoing functions the leader acts throughout as the voice of his group as nearly as he can determine that voice.¹²

The leader will be tempted to put his own ideas to the fore and to direct the discussion. Important as his ideas may be and significant as may be his directive efforts, there is something more important to be expressed. The group under the influence of the panel discussion will be seeking expression of its unexpressed needs, longings, trends. If the leader turns his attention from his own ideas to the responses of the group under the influence of the panel discussants, he may be able to frame conclusions more important than any distinctly his own.

¹⁰ E. S. Bogardus, *Democracy by Discussion* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942), pp. 11 ff.

¹¹ Clarence R. Athearn, *Discussing Religion Creatively* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1939), pp. 220 ff.

¹² Fansler, *Creative Power Through Discussion* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), Chap. 1.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NEWS

University of California, Los Angeles. The *American Sociological Review* will be edited by Dr. Leonard Broom with assistance from the staff. Dr. R. T. Morris will be the book review editor of the journal. The Department of Anthropology and Sociology has moved into new quarters with specialized rooms for laboratories, interviewing, and faculty offices.

Pomona College. Dr. Ray E. Baber, chairman of the Department of Sociology, is in Japan for the academic year 1954-55 on a Fulbright Research Award. During his absence, Henry Zentner, who did his doctoral work at Stanford University, has been appointed acting assistant professor. Associate Professor Alvin H. Scaff has returned from a year in the Philippines on a Fulbright Research Award, where he studied the Huk Rebellion and the resettlement program. Messrs. Baber and Scaff are coauthors (with two economists and two political scientists) of "Our Needy Aged: A California Study of a National Problem," just published by Henry Holt & Company. This three-year study was made under a grant from the Haynes Foundation.

University of Southern California. Dr. E. S. Bogardus has returned from a Mediterranean trip involving a study of social conditions in the Near East. Dr. E. C. McDonagh is on sabbatical leave this semester, investigating the Mexican "wetback" problem. President Woodrow Scott of the Alpha Chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta has announced a full program for the year as follows: Social Problems in Turkey, Dean H. Reining; Child Welfare in England, Dean A. Johnson; Social Trends in the Mediterranean Area, Dr. E. S. Bogardus; Social Change in Formosa, Dr. T. Chen; The Mexican "Wetback" Problem, Dr. E. C. McDonagh; Race Developments in South Africa, Dr. R. Williamson; and Social Issues in Israel and Egypt, Mr. A. Lourie and Mr. A. Said.

Whittier College. Dr. Robert W. O'Brien has joined the staff as full professor of sociology and head of the department. In addition to his teaching, he will serve as one of the representatives of Whittier College in a new interacademic program under the auspices of the Ford Foundation.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

METHOD AND PERSPECTIVE IN ANTHROPOLOGY. Edited by Robert F. Spencer. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. xii+323.

This book was written as a tribute to Wilson D. Wallis, upon his retirement after many years as chairman of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Minnesota. There are thirteen essays, written by former students, colleagues, and friends of Wallis. They deal with ethnography, cultural anthropology, prehistory, linguistics, ethnogeography, and the related behavior field of sociology. These are followed by a critical summary by A. L. Kroeber, who comments incisively on each of the papers.

The essays cover such a wide range that only a few, by way of illustration, can be mentioned. Melville J. Herskovits treats the problem of methods in ethnography, showing that every hypothesis arises from a body of theory and a concept, and that "techniques" are merely ways of testing hypotheses. His discussion of several problems always confronted in field research (duration, communication, rapport, comparison, and historic depth) is particularly good. Allen R. Holmberg gives a lively account of the planned introduction of a few simple items of technology into a small, extremely primitive group in Bolivia. The effects upon the economic, nomadic, and social behavior were immediate—some wholly unanticipated. Erwin H. Ackerknecht explains why the comparative method in cultural anthropology has fallen so far from its former position of prominence. He admits its limitations and does not decry other legitimate methods (such as those of the functionalist), but he predicts that the comparative method will regain its prestige and reach an even higher level than formerly. It will then bring forth for analysis rich stores of observation "that now gather dust in oblivion." Ralph Linton is always refreshingly clear. His discussion of the problem of universal values is based on the premise that "the peoples of the world must find common areas of understanding or die." (Kroeber criticizes this statement for its "ingredient of emotion" and its alarmism.) His trenchant analysis of both conceptual and instrumental values is highly pertinent to the present world situation.

The book is an excellent one to show some of the trends in anthropological thinking. There are some sharply differing views on method—even on concepts—but these only make the book the more stimulating.

However, there is much more agreement than disagreement. Clearly anthropology is in a dynamic stage.

RAY E. BABER

Pomona College

THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS. By Harry S. Ashmore. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xv+228.

Although written before the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in the schools, the book is most timely. It contains the findings of a group of investigators regarding the extent of segregation in the schools in the various areas of the United States where such segregation exists. It does not argue for or against segregation, but presents data regarding its extent. It gives a "state-by-state picture of the changes going on within the South in recent years" in providing equal educational facilities for white and Negro children, and by indirection it suggests the size of the problem in different areas if these areas are going to observe the Supreme Court decision. Some indications are afforded regarding the problems involved in shifting from segregation to integration where the Negro population is large and where traditional policies are deeply fixed in the mores of white people.

MINORITIES AND THE AMERICAN PROMISE. *The Conflict of Principle and Practice.* By Stewart G. and Mildred Wiese Cole. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. xiv+319.

This notable work in the field of intercultural relations analyzes American culture and community life, intergroup and interpersonal relations; presents a philosophy of democratic human relations; and suggests basic tests for democracy both at home and abroad. Among other data it sets forth four distinguishing characteristics of a dynamic culture, four major facts about the community pattern of American culture, five outstanding facts about the dynamics of personality-culture interaction, six sources of interpersonal social prejudice, depicting fields of prejudice in action and the consequences of prejudice. Especially significant are the concluding chapters concerning "the citizen in American democracy" and "Americans and their world neighbors." The treatise makes a distinctive contribution to the building of a peaceful and creative world of human beings who do not necessarily think alike but who understand one another.

E.S.B.

BREAKTHROUGH ON THE COLOR FRONT. By Lee Nichols. New York: Random House, 1954, pp. x+235.

In this book a journalist reports a large number of incidents and episodes that show how the military forces of the United States have passed within a ten-year period from a policy of segregation to a policy of integration. Within this remarkably short time, considering the deep traditional basis of the segregation policy, the navy, air force, army, and marines have given up segregation and adopted integration, not only as a policy but in actual practice, barring some exceptions. Once the traditional beliefs were overcome, the evolution was not difficult. Moreover, increased fighting efficiency seems to have been gained. The chief result is that this change helps the United States to live up to its democracy doctrine and invalidates in one large aspect of national life the Soviet claim that the United States treats minority groups undemocratically.

A.R.R.

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM TODAY. Israel and Its Neighbors. By Carl H. Voss. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953, pp. xv+64.

The author is a Christian religious leader who views the problems of Israel with sympathy and understanding. He traces the events which led to the establishment of Israel in 1948 and discusses "the Arab problem" as seen by the Jews, the relation of Israel to communism and to the United Nations. He foresees that "when peace is established with the Arab neighbors and a sound economy established, Israel can become an industrial center for the predominantly agricultural Middle East."

SAVAGE PAPUA. A Missionary Among Cannibals. By Andre Dupeyrat. Translated from the French by Erik and Denyse Demauny. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 256.

In this firsthand account of a missionary's experiences the details of the daily life of some of the world's most underdeveloped peoples are described and illustrated vividly. The practices of cannibalism, so revolting in every way, are accompanied by expressions of fine human feelings under the influence of Father Dupeyrat. Human behavior on the part of Papuans ranges from the killing of a first-born babe by its mother in response to pagan dogma to sincere worship of the God of the Christian.

NEXT STEPS IN RACIAL DESEGREGATION IN EDUCATION. *The Journal of Negro Education*. Washington, D.C.: The Howard University Press, Summer, 1954, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-399.

This publication contains succinct reviews of racial desegregation in many areas of human relations, such as the armed forces, transportation, sports, public service, industry. It gives a number of case studies of desegregation in the public schools of New Jersey, the schools of Arizona, New Mexico, Kansas, Southern Illinois. It presents principles related to the problem of desegregation, and suggests a variety of next steps in racial desegregation in education. It is an important symposium by a corps of competent observers and participants.

MAN'S CAPACITY TO REPRODUCE. *The Demography of a Unique Population*. By Joseph W. Eaton and Albert J. Mayer. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954, pp. 59.

This book is a treatise on how "the ethnic Hutterites of North America provide an exceptional opportunity to study social and biological aspects of human fertility and reproduction." It was found that "women living in 1950 had on the average a probability of having 12 children if they were married during their eighteenth year and lived with their spouses through the end of their fertility period." Birth control is shunned, "maximum reproduction is a virtue," the population doubles in about 16 years, and the "Hutterite men tend to outlive their wives."

BACK OF HISTORY. *The Story of Our Origins*. By William Howells. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1954, pp. 384.

The story of human origins is traced through the "old hunters," the "new farmers," the "new societies," and cities and cradles of civilization. The account is told in language that is easily understood and in a well-organized fashion.

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND RECORDS. Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1954, Vol. XVIII, pp. 253.

This volume contains important data on Norwegian migration to America, early Norwegian settlement in the Rockies, segregation and assimilation of Norwegian settlements in Wisconsin, the work of pioneer Rasmus B. Anderson, and the novels of Peer Stromme.

INDIANS OF THE PLAINS. By Robert H. Lowie. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1954, pp. xiii+222.

This is an authoritative book about the Indians who lived between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains and who are regarded as having represented "a distinctive mode of life during the period of Caucasian contacts," involving "dependence on the buffalo, residence in skin-covered tipis, use of the horse for the hunt and for transport, a peculiar type of decorative and of pictorial art, a sign language, an ideology of warfare, the Sun Dance," and so on. These tribal groups constitute an "aboriginal culture area" that was related closely to "the effective exploitation of the buffalo."

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

FACIAL DEFORMITIES AND PLASTIC SURGERY: A PSYCHO-SOCIAL STUDY. By Francis C. Macgregor, Theodore M. Abel, Albert Bryt, Edith Laur, and Serena Weissman. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1953, pp. 230.

Of the many interdisciplinary studies emerging at the present time this research is an outstanding example of the results obtained by a team of specialists in sociology, cultural anthropology, clinical psychology, and psychiatry. The monograph presents some of the many psychosocial aspects of medicine as specifically related to facial disfigurement. As the authors state, interest in this area has emanated largely from (1) the many persons affected by facial disfigurement through war injuries, automobile and other accidents, and various diseases, (2) the high value placed on facial beauty in our culture and its importance for jobs, marriage, etc., (3) the application of many new improved surgical procedures which increase the possibility of restoration of the facially injured. The authors present four case histories which graphically illustrate the social pressures with which the facially disfigured are constantly confronted and the resultant adjustments which these persons make according to their own personality and the social pressures they continually must face. Each history is analyzed to show pertinent factors leading to the request for surgery; however, one is disappointed in the somewhat limited use of dynamic formulations of the personality structure in these case histories.

DENNIE L. BRIGGS

U.S. Naval Hospital, Oakland, California

PERSONALITY IN THE MAKING. Edited by Helen L. Witmer and Ruth Kotinsky. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952, pp. 454.

An excellent survey of scientific data is made available in this work concerning the principal factors associated with the development of healthy personalities in children. Persons who work with adult deviant personalities, whether in jails or mental institutions, are beginning to proclaim the conviction that the most promising solution to the problem is to avoid the influences directing young people into antisocial behavior. Special attention is focused on such factors as congenital influences, physical limitations and handicaps, parent-child relationships, income level and personality development, and the effects of ethnic prejudice on personality growth.

Another important area investigated stresses the role of major institutions on the formation of a healthy personality in the child. The family, church and synagogue, school, leisure-time services, health, social services, and law-enforcement agencies are examined in considerable detail for significant personality influences on the child. No one can read these various reports without realizing the relatedness of almost every scientific discipline associated with children. Certainly, the modern conception of the "whole child" simply means that a Gestalt approach is able to sort out the major factors or influences in a given child's personality.

E.C.M.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN SOCIAL WORK. Edited by Cora Kasius. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. xxi+258.

In this symposium dedicated to Philip Klein at the occasion of his retirement from the New York School of Social Work, fourteen distinguished experts in various fields of social work have summarized the problems and developments in the fields of social work and contributed notable suggestions for the advancement of social work activities. Lester B. Granger suggests that voluntary social work may readily serve not only as supplementary to public welfare work but that it may be a "positive force in creating social change." Jane M. Hoey expresses the conviction "that a real program of social action is necessary to achieve social gains in any country." Michael M. Davis describes group payment plans of medical care and asserts that "organized medical opposition, viewed in the perspective of the last 30 years, has won battles but has lost ground." Helen R. Wright favors the Ph.D. degree over a doctor of social work degree, for social work teachers so trained will acquire a

"knowledge of the social sciences," and thus, as Alfred J. Kahn believes, social work will increase its stature as a profession instead of becoming only a technology. Henry S. Maas and Martin Wolins, in an important chapter, point to the significance for social workers of thinking in terms of sociological concepts such as social role, role-adjustment, role-adaptation, socialization, and acculturation.

The positive concepts of welfare proposed by the authors are classified by the editor into three major areas: (1) the provision of social service, (2) the improvement of the social milieu, and (3) the development and use of technical knowledge.

WOODROW W. SCOTT

THE JUVENILE OFFENDER: PERSPECTIVE AND READINGS. By Clyde B. Vedder. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. xii+510.

It is not easy to produce a book of readings in juvenile delinquency, for the literature on the subject is voluminous and the problem has many ramifications. This necessitates a wide knowledge of the material and a judicious selection of the main contributions to the subject. Even though the selections are from a limited number of books, journals, and other publications, the readings in this book are well chosen. The introductory comments are more than résumés of the selected material. They "set the stage in each chapter" in that they indicate the main items involved and review some of the literature on the various aspects of the subject.

Even though the chapters are not grouped under broad classifications, they deal mainly with three broad aspects of the problem: (1) the juvenile delinquent and the extent of the problem of delinquency; (2) causal factors, such as economic and familial conditions, community institutions, personality and behavior problems, and juvenile gangs; and (3) the means of treatment and preventions, especially the functions of the juvenile court, probation and parole, correction institutions, and community responsibility. Obviously, not all phases of delinquency could be covered in one volume of readings, but the omission of certain phases of the subject, especially certain types of conditioning factors, is evident. On the other hand, the inclusion of discussions of certain detail topics, such as "the psychopathic delinquent," may be questioned.

This book can be used either as a text or as a source book in courses dealing with delinquency and crime. As a source book, it is a valuable

supplementary reference to the standard texts in the field. The author has included many of the best sources of data available and the bibliographies are well chosen and concisely annotated. M.H.N.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF PHYSICAL DISABILITY. Edited by James F. Barrett. Rehabilitation Series #210, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Washington: Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, 1953, pp. vii+195.

Intended as a guide for workers in rehabilitation, this bulletin is of special significance to all social scientists who are interested in the effects of social and cultural factors upon the personality structure. It presents summaries of studies by various social and medical scientists in the areas of various physical disabilities, including poliomyelitis, paraplegia, cerebral palsy, multiple sclerosis, amputation, tuberculosis, facial disfigurement, the deaf, the hard of hearing, and the blind. The fusion of the many disciplines into workable theoretic formulations is outstandingly portrayed in the various summaries of the many researches which are reported in this bulletin. The reactions of the individually afflicted persons to their disorders and the ways in which they cope with social pressures are empirically presented. These studies present new light on the many facets of the human adaptation process.

DENNIE L. BRIGGS

U.S. Naval Hospital, Oakland, California

PARENT AND CHILD. By James H. S. Bossard. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, pp. 308.

In a very readable style, marked with pungent humor, the author reports a series of explorations into areas of family behavior that have for the most part received little attention in previous studies. In these studies he stresses the detailed minutiae of everyday living, the commonplace.

There are fifteen chapters. One is devoted to methodology and another to concluding comments. Each of the other chapters reports a segment of the original research, covering such topics as the small family system, the large family system, a spatial index for family interaction, the child with a sequence of parents, parent's occupation and child development, domestic animals, process in social weaning (a study of childhood visiting), and rites of passage (a study of the formal debut).

At the outset the author discusses relevant points on research methodology and selected proprieties in the study of human behavior. He maintains that good research technique places the student and technique in the background, accentuates the problem, not the procedures of its study. To many readers, his discussion will appear to be a defense of his inadequate research procedures which sometimes receive so little attention as to lend doubt to the validity of many of the findings. His subjects for the various studies are mainly college students, and his method that of subjective analysis of case data, secured by free essay style writing, interview, and open-ended questionnaire. More than 500 original case studies are utilized. The number used for each topic ranges from 17 in the study on average parents to 100 on childhood visiting.

Despite any criticism on research technique, the reader will find this book stimulating and rewarding, chiefly for its suggestions of hypotheses for further study. Though it adds little to our storehouse of empirical knowledge, it points the way to productive future research, and it clarifies some of the weaknesses in past research in family behavior.

KARL WALLACE

Los Angeles State College

SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

SOCIOLOGY. By George A. Lundberg, Clarence C. Schrag, and Otto N. Larsen. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. 740.

Sociology is defined "as a body of related generalizations about social behavior arrived at by the methods of natural science." Three introductory chapters are devoted to an analysis of science, its method and content, and its imperativeness for modern sociology. A strong argument is made that introductory students understand some of the assumptions and logic employed by the sociologist. The authors seem determined that the student know a great deal about the "telescope" prior to any "star gazing."

The content of the book is not too different from any of the leading sociology texts except for the adjectival emphasis on the behavior theme. Strong points in this new text seem to be (1) clarity of style, (2) the inclusion of the latest empirical findings to bolster the point of view of the text, (3) cautious statement of fact and generalization, and (4) a superior format replete with numerous charts, diagrams, and pertinent

photographs. However, some users of this book may raise the following questions: (1) Has there been an overemphasis on the behavior theme? (2) Is it good teaching to begin a discussion of an introductory course by a review of its methods rather than a preview of its content? Is sociology a large collection of facts and findings about behavior without much regard for integrative generalizations?

The authors deserve credit for setting a high standard in the production of an introductory sociology text.

E.C.M.

EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE INTER-GROUP ATTITUDES BETWEEN EXPERIMENTALLY PRODUCED GROUPS. ROBBERS CAVE STUDY. By Muzafer Sherif and others. Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma, 1954, pp. 206.

In this important and intensive research project two "experimentally produced groups" were the subjects. The production of negative attitudes toward the out-group, an assessment of in-group functioning, and contacts introduced to reduce friction are among the themes that are described. No final or definitive conclusions are reached.

THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF ART. By Radhakamal Mukerjee. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954, pp. xxii+280.

Professor Mukerjee aims to fill a gap in sociological literature by exploring the arts as a sociological indicator, individually and collectively. Of the fifteen chapters of the present book, some were published previously, one of them in *Sociology and Social Research*.

To readers unfamiliar with the sociological approach to art, the second chapter may serve as a gateway. To Mukerjee, art brings under its purview the social relations of the forms and motifs of art. Art is also shown as clarifying and determining social values. "As one manifestation of human aspiration and experience," says Mukerjee, "art is woven into the scheme of values and general pattern of collective living and culture of the people." Accordingly, the sociology of art is an "objective study of art work . . . as an expression of man's personal striving and fulfilment . . . a vehicle of communication of prevailing social values . . . and a record and celebration of a culture or age." Among the precursors of the sociology of aesthetics, Dr. Mukerjee names Taine, Herbert Spencer, Guyau, and Wundt. The volume is richly illustrated with over fifty paintings and sculptures.

HANS L. ILLING

STUDIES IN THE SCOPE AND METHOD OF "THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY." Edited by Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954, pp. 279.

With an explanatory introduction by Editor Marie Jahoda, this critique of the significant social research methods and findings embodied in *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950) consists of five essays written by Edward A. Shils, Herbert A. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, Richard Christie, Harold D. Lasswell, and Else Frenkel-Brunswick, the latter being one of the original contributors to the work under discussion. Shils points out that the researchers neglected to separate sharply enough all those who disagreed with the views of the extreme right, thereby questioning the stated analysis of the type of personality structure that will become either fascist or extreme leftist. Hyman and Sheatsley point out a number of methodological weaknesses in the original study.

In his essay on "Authoritarianism Re-examined," Editor Christie reports upon the great number of subsequent research projects inspired by the work, indicating too that the evidence that childhood experiences had great importance in the genesis of potential fascists has not been altogether substantiated. Lasswell suggests a number of hypotheses, one of which is: "The leaders of large-scale modern politics where comparatively free institutions exist are oriented toward power as a coordinate or secondary value with other values such as respect (popularity), rectitude (reputation as servants of the public good), and wealth (a livelihood)." The volume is well pointed toward furthering more research in the study of the development of types of personality. M.J.V.

THE STORY OF OUR CIVILIZATION. By Philip Lee Ralph. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 319.

In simple phraseology and in twelve chapters the author does remarkably well in stating many of the essential factors in "10,000 years of Western Man." The chapter headings give an idea of the author's analysis of a far-reaching theme: Western origins, the classical pattern, the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the rediscovery of man, the discovery of the machine expansion and rigidity, civilization in crisis. The real task ahead "is not to create an industrial civilization but to create an ethical one." Otherwise, Western civilization may go the way of ultimate ruin. E.S.B.

SUBREGIONAL MIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1935-40.

Differential Migration in the Corn and Cotton Belts. By Donald J. Bogue and Margaret Jarman Hagood. Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution No. 6. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, 1953, pp. 248.

This is a study of differentials in intrastate migration from non-metropolitan areas to urban places in the Corn Belt and the Cotton Belt regions of the United States. It is based on an analysis of special cross tabulations of the migration data from the 1940 Census of Population. A distinction is made between migration streams according to type of residence of origin and size of urban place of destination. For each migration stream, various cross tabulations were made available on the basis of the age, occupation, highest grade of school, income, marital status, duration of unemployment, class of worker, and household status of migrants. All these cross tabulations are given in the last part of the monograph.

In an excellent and succinct chapter, the authors summarize the analysis of these data and formulate a few generalizations concerning migration. An interesting idea suggested by the authors is that in research on differential migration more attention should be paid to those variables that show the most stability over a period of time. G.S.

DYNAMICS OF GROUPS AT WORK. By Herbert A. Thelen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954, pp. ix+379.

As a whole, this is an outstanding contribution of the school of the dynamicists to the theory and practice of group work and group processes. Its value lies primarily in concrete illustrations and specific suggestions for the organizer, leader, and member of groups, as in citizen participation, classroom teaching, in-service professional training, administration, human relations training, and public meetings.

Mr. Thelen, a student of the late Kurt Lewin, has been a member of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development since 1947 and directs the annual Chicago Workshop in Community Human Relations. It is the laboratory technique which the author uses so successfully and which, in part, consists of the voluntary participation of the group members who share in the authority of leadership. One bibliographical reference might well constitute the theme of the book, namely, Allison Davis' *Social Class Influences on Learning*. HANS A. ILLING

ASPECTS OF CULTURE AND PERSONALITY. Edited by Francis L. K. Hsu. New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1954, pp. xiii+305.

According to this report on a "Conference on Anthropology and Psychiatry," held at Northwestern University in 1951, not only anthropology and psychiatry but psychology and sociology were represented. The late Ralph Linton summarized the situation by saying that "although we really know very little today, we are in a much better position than we have ever been to find out." Adamson Hoebel states that the aim of psychiatry is "the pathology of the mentally deviant"; and of anthropology, "the physiology of whole societies." William A. Hunt emphasizes how anthropologists and psychiatrists speak different languages and hence do not work together and do not understand one another. These and other pertinent observations by the other contributors to this volume give it an interesting although not too enlightening flavor.

E.S.B.

INTRODUCTION TO STATISTICAL ANALYSIS. By Wilfrid J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, Jr. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951, pp. x+370.

This is probably one of the best elementary statistics books available at present. The authors have managed to discuss in one book and with great clarity the most important concepts and tools of modern statistics. While no more than a knowledge of the algebraic rules of addition, subtraction, and multiplication is needed to understand the material presented, the student needs to be quite familiar with these rules.

The first six chapters are devoted to the analysis and summarization of frequency distributions. A short and lucid discussion of the basic ideas of the tests of statistical hypotheses is given in chapter seven. Confidence estimates and tests of significance relating to the mean and the variance are presented in the next two chapters. The following three chapters are on "The Analysis of Variance," "Regression and Correlation," and "The Analysis of Covariance." There is a chapter on the analysis of qualitative variables, on the power of various tests, and finally five chapters on various special techniques of statistical analysis, such as sequential analysis and nonparametric tests.

By giving some examples drawn from the social science literature and by devoting more space to a discussion of sample designs, the authors could increase the usefulness of their book to the sociologist and other social scientists.

G.S.

FUNK & WAGNALL'S STANDARD DICTIONARY OF FOLKLORE, MYTHOLOGY AND LEGEND. Edited by Maria Leach. New York: Funk & Wagnall's Company, 1949, two vols.

Both of these large volumes contain over eight thousand folklore terms, with no less than thirty-four well-known contributors to the information about tales, customs, beliefs, songs, dances, proverbs, and the like. Cultures, both ancient and modern, have been scanned all over the world for materials which prove to be fascinating indeed. Here, one may find out about the various gods, the angels and the devils, the folk heroes, and the varied motifs that have furnished such persistent tales as that of "Romulus and Remus" and "Hansel and Gretel." For those interested in social origins, the dictionary may well be termed an essential. Consultants in the production of the work were Professors Herskovits, Krappe, Leach, and Voegelin, all of whom are noted for their eminent work in anthropology and in folklore studies.

M.J.V.

STATISTICAL METHODS FOR SOCIAL SCIENTISTS. By Lilian Cohen. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954, pp. 181+viii.

This is a concise textbook in introductory statistics, written mainly for undergraduate students in sociology. The topics covered are (1) the distribution and summarization of empirical frequency distribution, (2) the normal and binomial distribution, (3) sample designs, (4) elements of statistical inference, (5) the fourfold table and the chi-square tests, and (6) simple linear regression and correlation. There are a number of statistical tables in the appendix. The style and the material presented are well within the reach of the undergraduate students. Furthermore, the use of many examples drawn from research studies in the field of sociology will appeal to both students and teachers in sociology. Finally, the author is to be commended for her attempt to introduce and discuss the important concepts of statistical estimation and tests of statistical hypothesis.

Because of the brevity of this book, a number of topics which should be discussed more thoroughly and at greater length are dispensed with in a few paragraphs. More needs to be said on such important topics as the power of a test and probability. Only a few short and misleading paragraphs are devoted to the discussion of the important problem of statistical classification.

On the whole, however, this textbook will be welcome by those sociologists who have been teaching statistics and have been longing for a book with examples taken from their own discipline. G.S.

FREEDOM AGAINST ITSELF. By Clarence K. Streit. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. xviii+316.

The author of the widely read *Union Now* develops the thesis in this book that freedom is a divisive force, that freedom places the democratic nations at the mercy of totalitarian Russia, that freedom may lead to economic depression—unless, in each of these cases, freedom is coupled with union. Freedom-with-union will overcome divisiveness, give the democratic nations greater strength than totalitarian Russia possesses, and prevent economic depression.

The book has four parts: what freedom is doing to unite men, what freedom is doing to divide men, where there is now a great danger to freedom, and how this danger can be turned into opportunity. The arguments in the book are strongly presented. The treatment loses somewhat in readability by its choppiness. A greater emphasis might have been placed on constructive lines of procedure that will bring about widespread attitudes of freedom-with-union.

E.S.B.

INDIVIDUALISM RECONSIDERED AND OTHER ESSAYS. By David Riesman. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954.

These thirty essays by the now well-known author of *The Lonely Crowd* offer a potpourri of insights and thoughts on a wide diversity of subjects. The topics range from that of the brief essay that gives the book its title (13 of the 507 pages) to lengthier treatments of minorities (four essays) and Freudianism (four essays) and briefer essays on Veblen, totalitarianism, methods in the social sciences, and various aspects of "culture: popular and unpopular." Whether he is discussing Freud or popular music, community planning or football, Riesman is always lucid and often entertaining. He grants that the essays are only loosely linked; yet if there is a central theme it is in the title-essay, where the stress on his brand of individualism is phrased thus (p. 37): "We must give every encouragement to people to develop their private selves—to escape from groupism—while realizing that, in many cases, they will use their freedom in unattractive or 'idle' ways. Our very abundance makes it possible for us, even in the midst of war, to take the minor risks and losses involved in such encouragement as against the absolutely certain risks involved in a total mobilization of intellect and imagination." This is a refreshing antidote to some currently popular views.

The most brilliant writing of the author is in his section of "Marginality, Minorities and Freedom." The weakest analysis, despite many insightful comments, seems to be in the section on Freud. Here there are many inconsistencies which may befit the essayist tradition but are hardly suitable in a scientific critique.

JOSEPH B. FORD

Los Angeles State College

LABOR MOBILITY AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. By E. Wright Bakke *et al.* New York: The Technology Press of Massachusetts and John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1954, pp. vii+118.

The term *labor mobility* takes on new significance and meaning in the six essays and introduction to this book. The *et al.* in the above heading refers to Professors Hauser, Palmer, Myers, Yoder, and Kerr—all well known for their specific contributions to the field of industrial relations. Here, all of them offer an abundance of data based upon their research activities. A prefatory remark by Paul Webbink discloses that the volume grew out of the research planning discussions of the Committee on Labor Market Research of the Social Science Research Council. Professor Bakke closes his introductory remarks with the statement: "Free choice by the worker as to the area of production or services to whom he will devote his energies, and free choice by the employer as to whom he will employ are essential principles upon which the past performance of this nation is based."

Hauser, in his essay on "Mobility in Labor Force Participation," furnishes the keystone for the rest of the essays. He cites as the framework of labor mobility the movement into and out of the labor force for its other forms, "changes in job, employer, occupation, industry, place of work, or combinations of these changes." Changes in labor force participation may be analyzed in terms of secular, cyclical, seasonal, and other changes. After a brief discussion of the actual changes, he concludes that "at least in the short run, the labor force may be relatively inelastic, though its composition is subject to great changes." Gladys L. Palmer studies patterns of labor mobility in the Philadelphia labor market (1926-1936) and reveals that "workers quit jobs to get 'steadier work,' 'more money,' 'better working conditions,' 'more experience,' or what they consider to be a 'promotion.'" Kerr, in a uniquely titled essay "The Balkanization of Labor Markets," comes to the conclusion that "it is debatable whether wage policies of unions and employers have much impact upon wage determination." The book is filled with ideas suggesting some needed and interesting future research projects in the area under discussion.

M.J.V.

POWER, ORDER, AND THE ECONOMY. A Preface to the Social Sciences. By Marbury B. Ogle, Jr., Louis Schneider, and Jay W. Wiley. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954, pp. xii+852.

Power, Order, and the Economy was developed as the text for the social science orientation course at Purdue University. It is not designed as an introductory text for any one of the fields of social science. Although social stratification, race problems, population, and some aspects of social psychology are discussed, it can hardly be said that the book presents an orientation to sociology, particularly in a conceptual sense. It does illustrate, however, some ways in which sociological findings may be utilized in studies of government and economy.

Some of the problems of joint authorship are apparent in the book. Documentation of the various chapters is not uniform, with Schneider's chapters containing three or four times as many references to sources as those of his colleagues. Certain concepts, such as "attitude," are used without a precise definition being presented for the benefit of the beginning student. There are some instances of laxity in proofreading, such as the varying spellings of "intensional" on pages 26-27.

In view of the increasing demand for "integrated" courses in social science, the authors should be congratulated on the extensive effort which has undoubtedly been expended in preparing a text to meet this need. This book should prove useful as a text for a terminal course in general social science for nonmajors in the field.

THOMAS E. LASSWELL
Grinnell College

SOCIAL DRAMA

THE TEAHOUSE OF THE AUGUST MOON. A Play by John Patrick. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1952, pp. 180.

Winner of the 1954 Pulitzer Prize and the 1953-54 Critics Circle Award, John Patrick's skillful and witty dramatization of Vern Sneider's novel, *The Teahouse of the August Moon*, is a sheer delight to read. In one instance it is charming and mirthful, in another it is amusingly satirical, and in still another it is engagingly captivating with its sly nuances on the difficulties encountered when one set of cultural patterns becomes entangled with an alien set.

Briefly, the story centers around the problems confronting a small American occupation force dedicated to the task of teaching democracy and its ways to the inhabitants of Okinawa. In the village of Tobiki, where the work begins, the first task is that of organizing the local government along democratic lines and building a pentagon-shaped schoolhouse. High comedy rules when the Americans and Okinawans fail to grasp the situation. The Okinawans can understand what rice distribution means but not what democracy means. Captain Fisby tells them that for one thing it means that they may write personal letters of complaint to the President of the United States. Not being able to write, this means little to them. For the village government he wishes them to choose their best men. Sakini, his interpreter, knows best how to handle this matter. The only man possessing a white coat thereupon becomes Mayor, the chief wrestler becomes the Chief of Police, and the artist who can paint wheat becomes Chief of Agriculture. Captain Fisby lets it go at that.

Moreover, the villagers do not want a school. The pentagon-shaped structure is dedicated to the functions of a teahouse, which is the thing most desired and which Sakini manages to get for them. When Colonel Purdy visits the place, he stands aghast and orders Fisby to have the teahouse dismantled. All morale leaves the village. Then, the unexpected happens—Colonel Purdy receives news that some Congressmen are about to visit this model village. The teahouse is quickly restored.

Something of the great charm of the play comes from the technique of having its chief character, Sakini, act as interpreter for the Americans and for the audience as well as stage manager. Choice lines and passages fall to him. In introducing the play to the audience, he says:

Okinawa very fortunate

Culture brought to us. . .Not have to leave home for it.

Learn many things.

Most important that rest of world not like Okinawa.

World filled with delightful variation.

Illustration.

In Okinawa. .no locks on doors.

Bad manners not to trust neighbors.

In America, . . . lock and key big industry.

Conclusion?

Bad manners good business.

M.J.V.

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